



anarchism in Japan

**VAN
DER
LUBBE**



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anarchism in Japan

PRE-WAR MOVEMENT

To the Death of Kotoku

DUE TO THE FACT THAT FEUDALISM ended in Japan only 100 years ago, a working class movement did not exist until the beginning of this century, when new social theories were imported from abroad. Before the "Meiji Restoration" there had been occasional peasant revolts similar to those in feudal Europe.

The civil liberties movement in the years after the Meiji Restoration was centred around the Liberal Party. As this party was controlled by politicians who, by coming from the "wrong" feudal clans, had been frozen out of the government, its liberalism disappeared as soon as its leaders found positions in the government.

Chomin Nakae,¹ who studied in France, was greatly influenced by Rousseau—in 1876 he translated *Social Contract*. In his private school, Nakae taught many people who were later to become prominent Anarchists and Socialists. In 1878 two magazines with vague humanistic-socialistic philosophies began publication; they became the main source of information about radical social theories.

In 1882 the Toyo Shakai To (Oriental Socialist Party) was formed, the first group to call itself Socialist. It had no president or headquarters and declared "the government should ultimately be abolished because it is the offspring of evil". It folded a year later under government pressure.

In 1897 the first real labour unions were formed by a group led by Sen Katayama,² then a Christian-Socialist who had attended the founding conference of the Second International.

In 1900 the Diet (Parliament) passed the "Public Peace Police Act". Under the law, any policeman could prohibit a meeting, organizations could be forcibly dissolved, and organizing a strike was illegal. The next decade, when the law was stringently enforced, is referred to as "the Period of Submersion", when the labour movement was "underwater".

In 1901 a Social Democratic Party was formed; the same day it was suppressed by the government. At that time the intricacies of European radical politics were not known in Japan; in fact, Christianity, with its humanitarian theories, had a great influence on the early workers' movement (while Christianity had been legalized in 1873, there was still great social stigma against it, so it was not yet able to sell out for respectability).

In 1902 Sentaro Kemuriyama wrote *Modern Anarchism*, the first book on Anarchism in Japanese. It dealt primarily with Russian terrorists.

In 1903 Heimin-sha (Common People's Association) was established to publish a weekly socialist paper. It had about 10 activists, the most prominent being Shusui Kotoku, at that time something of a Social-



Democrat. Because it was the only group to spread anti-war propaganda at a time when Japan was becoming a world power, it was eventually suppressed as unpatriotic.

In 1905 Heimin-sha split into three groups: Chokugen (Straight Talk) was led by Kotoku and Toshihiko Sakai, later to become a Socialist. The second, Shin Kigen (New Generation), led by Sanshiro Ishikawa, was influenced by Christianity and had a more humanistic outlook. The third, Hikari (Light) was simply a trade unionist group.

In 1905 Kotoku visited the US and made contact with numerous groups and individuals, particularly the IWW. He returned to Japan the next year and announced that he was an Anarchist.

Before Kotoku's return the Nihon Shakai To (Japan Socialist Party) was formed, consisting of almost all radicals. In Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) Kotoku began pushing Anarchist ideas, particularly direct action and anti-parliamentarianism. Hekison Kutsumi, an intellectual, began writing about anarchism. For the first time an Anarchist movement began to develop.

The same year Japanese Anarchists in America formed the Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japanese Social-Revolutionary Party), led by Sakutaro Iwasa.

As the Japanese movement became more "sophisticated" conflicts increased between the various tendencies. In 1907 the JSP split. The Left Socialists, led by Kotoku, published Osaka Heimin Shimbun, the Right Socialists, led by Sakai, published Shakai Shimbun (Social Paper), while the Christian Socialists, led by Ishikawa, formed a small centre group.

As a result of both their own weakness and government repression, the Right Socialists, while advocating parliamentarianism, were unable to participate in elections.

During the "Period of Submersion" the number of labour disputes decreased each year, while the level of violence increased. The exception to this downward trend was 1907, when the army had to be called out to suppress several miners' riots, in particular at the Ashio Copper Mine, where 1,200 miners burned buildings and threw bombs—600 were arrested.

In the first issue of *Revolution*, an English language newspaper published by Japanese Anarchists in California, Iwasa wrote, "Our politics and belief is to overthrow the Capitalist Class, Emperors, Kings, and Presidents." On the basis of this statement an American newspaper accused them of wanting to assassinate President Roosevelt. The Japanese Ambassador reported home that they wanted to kill the Imperial family; the government arrested Kotoku, but soon released him.

On November 3, 1907, the Emperor's birthday, "An Open letter to Mutsuhito, The Emperor of Japan From Anarchist Terrorists" was found on the door of the

Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. Essentially a joke, the letter attacked the Emperor for his part in the war with Russia and warned that he was surrounded by bombers. The government was terrified and immediately rounded up all known Anarchists.

On June 22, 1908, the Tokyo Anarchists went to a jail to meet a comrade who was getting out. On their way from there to a party they held a demonstration. The police, who were looking for an excuse to crack down on the Anarchists, attacked the demonstration; a battle followed, resulting in 14 arrests, including Sakae Osugi, Kanson Arahata, and Suga Kanno. Because the demonstrators carried three red flags with various phrases written on them, this demonstration became known as the Red Flag Incident.

Sakai and Yamakawa, the leaders of the Right Socialists, were arrested in connection with the Red Flag Incident, although they were in no way involved. Kotoku was not arrested as the police wanted to get him on a bigger charge—they were already certain he was planning to kill the Emperor.

Some of the people arrested in the Red Flag Incident carved on a prison wall a poem about beheading the Emperor, creating a new scandal and the extension of everybody's sentences. The whole affair proved to be a blessing in disguise for Osugi and Arahata, as they were still in jail at the time of "The Great Treason Plot" and thus could not be implicated in it.

At a demonstration against the increase in transportation costs, nine militants were arrested. They were acquitted at their trial, but the Supreme Court ordered the decision reversed.

While in prison, Suga Kanno began to think seriously about assassinating the Emperor. After her release she contacted a few others with similar interests, but none of them went beyond speculation, with the exception of Takichi Miyashita, who was captured in the mountains testing some experimental bombs.

On May 25, 1910, the police began arresting people believed involved in "The Great Treason Plot", 24 in all. On January 18, 1911, all were sentenced to death, but the next day 12 sentences were reduced to life imprisonment. On February 24, 1911, Kotoku, Kanno, Miyashita, and nine others were hung and their bodies burned.

Shusui Kotoku

Shusui Kotoku³ was born in 1871, four years after the Meiji Restoration, in an extremely conservative rural area of southern Japan. His father, a Samurai who made an unsuccessful attempt to become a merchant, died when Kotoku was two. Due to poverty and the lack of schools in his area, he was primarily self-educated.

At age 12 Kotoku began publishing a newspaper for his friends; while consisting mostly of neighbourhood news, it included some fairly radical political editorials.



At 15 he organized a small demonstration against a meeting of the ruling political party. He became a follower of the Liberal Party, which was then dropping vague hints about "taking power in one day".

In 1888 Kotoku went to Osaka, where he lived with Chomin Nakae.

In 1893 he got a job translating wire service reports from Europe, from which he learned a great deal about current events in Europe.

In 1896 Kotoku got married, apparently at the instigation of his mother. Complaining that he didn't like a traditional wife, who was more like a servant, he left her two months later. Nakae suggested he look for an educated girl and three years later he married an intellectual.

By 1897 the Liberal Party was actively collaborating with the government and becoming reactionary. Kotoku organized Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai (Social Problems Study Group) at his newspaper. At about the same time he received a book on Social Democracy from Europe.

Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai joined with Christian-Socialists like Katayama to form Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai (Socialism Study Group) "to study the principles of Socialism and the desirability of applying them to Japan".

A man with vague leftist tendencies hired the members of Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai to work at a new newspaper, "Banchoho", which soon became the largest newspaper in Japan. Although the paper was a low-brow scandal sheet, the editorials, mostly written by Kotoku, increasingly pushed Socialism in very scholarly language.

The railroad workers, in Japan's first big labour dispute, went on strike in 1897, but without any union organization. When the strike was lost, Kotoku was impressed with the need for unionization and joined in the formation of Rodo Kumiai Keisei Kai.

In 1901 Kotoku wrote a famous editorial under the heading "I am a Socialist and a member of the Socialist Party", his first public proclamation of the fact. At this time there was not actual SP.

Soon after, Kotoku and the leaders of five other groups met to form Shakai-Minshu To (Social-Democratic Party, modelled after the German SDP). Its basic principles were Socialism, Democracy, and Pacifism. It was suppressed within hours by the government, which had been expected, but not in time to prevent several large newspapers from publishing the party's statement of principles.

Pacifism was a particularly important issue, as Japan was entering a militaristic period that ended in the war with Russia. Shakai-Minshu To was the only group to oppose this trend and in public opinion it was considered unpatriotic; the circulation of "Banchoho" fell and Kotoku and Sakai were fired.

Kotoku and Sakai formed a group to publish

Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) as a weekly outright Socialist newspaper. Kotoku wrote an open letter to the Russian SDP suggesting that they work together against the common enemy; later a reply from "Iskra" was printed. On the first anniversary of Heimin Shimbun a translation of the "Communist Manifesto" was published; that issue of the paper was confiscated, Kotoku and Sakai were arrested, and Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai was forced to disband. In prison Kotoku translated works by Engels and Kropotkin, his first discovery of Anarchist thought.

In 1905, after deciding to leave the movement for a while because of bad health, Kotoku went to America. In San Francisco, where there was a branch of Heimin Sha, he was welcomed by the Japanese there as a well-known writer.

Kotoku joined the American SP soon after his arrival and organized an independent Japanese Socialist Party among the Japanese immigrants. He contacted the newly formed IWW, Russian exiles, Anarchists, and other radicals. For the first time he realized how deep the divisions were in the radical movement. When asked what tendency he preferred, he replied, "If I should choose one, I want the more idealistic, more revolutionary, more radical one." According to Iwasa he didn't believe that Socialism and Anarchism were contradictory, but that a Socialist society would come first, followed by an Anarchist one. He was particularly influenced by Kropotkin, whom he contacted by mail, and by the widespread voluntary co-operation he saw after the San Francisco earthquake. In June, 1906, just before returning to Japan, he formed Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japan Social-Revolutionary Party), a more radical group in opposition to the SP he had formed the year before.

While Kotoku was in America the Nihon Shakai To (Japan Socialist Party) was formed, led by Sakai. When Kotoku returned, he announced at a welcome-home party that his ideas had changed; he opposed parliamentary politics as useless for making a real social revolution and instead advocated solidarity of workers, direct action, and the general strike. The JSP immediately split into two groups of almost equal strength; a party principle that stated "this party advocates Socialism by legal means" was changed to "this party's purpose is to create Socialism".

Kotoku re-organized Heimin Shimbun as the organ of the JSP. Although the paper was written daily, only a few issues were allowed by the government. After a while Kotoku gave up on the paper and went to southern Japan.

When the Red Flag Incident took place, Kotoku was still in the South translating *The Conquest of Bread*. Receiving a telegram, he went back to Tokyo, stopping in several places to visit friends. The police believed he was plotting to kill the Emperor and everyone he visited on the way to Tokyo was later arrested as



The Winter of Socialism to WW2

After Kotoku's death, the radical movement entered the "Winter of Socialism", a time when all radical activity was suppressed by the government.

In 1912 Osugi and Arahata began publishing "Kindai Shiso" (Modern Thought), which operated under the pretence of being a literary magazine. The next year the Syndicalism Kenkyu Kai (Syndicalism Study Group) was organized illegally; many of the members of this group later became union leaders. Ishikawa, finding no place for himself in the miniscule, almost exclusively syndicalist, movement, went to Europe and contacted Anarchists there.

In 1912 Yuai Kai (Friendly Love Society) was formed a totally a-political union more or less along the lines of the American AFL,⁵ its name pretty much summed up its programme.

In 1914 it was felt that the time had come to build a radical labour movement. "Kindai Shiso" ceased publication and an attempt was made to revive "Heimin Shimbun"; five of the six issues were banned and the next year "Kindai Shiso" was revived. During this period the syndicalist groups gradually grew in strength.

Despite the loss of some militants, including Arahata,⁶ to proto-Communist groups after the Russian Revolution, the syndicalist movement continued to grow and gain influence in the labour movement. In 1918 Hokufu Kai (North Wind Association), a syndicalist printers' study group, led the left wing of the Japanese labour movement. "Rodo Shimbun" (Workers' Paper), written for ordinary workers, was edited by Osugi.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist movement reached its peak in 1919. That year the printers held 16 strikes in Tokyo; they were led by Shinyu Kai (Faithful Friends Society) and Seishin Kai (Society to Advance Truth), the two largest Syndicalist groups. The Syndicalist unions joined Sodomei (the new name of Yuai Kai) and their influence was rapidly sweeping through the previously moderate unions. 35,000 dockyard workers in Kobe occupied their plant for a month to prevent lay-offs.

In 1920 Japan was hit by the post-WWI depression and several large, mostly unsuccessful strikes took place to prevent wage cuts and lay-offs.

Osugi, Noe Ito (his wife, similar to Emma Goldman in both theory and position in the movement), Ken Kondo, and Kyutaro Wada began publishing "Rodo Undo" (Workers' Movement), the first outright Anarcho-Syndicalist paper in Japan.

The first May Day demonstration was held in 1920; it went off without incident because the police didn't realize what was happening until too late. The same year the non-Syndicalist Anarchists, under the leadership of Iwasa, organized themselves into Nihon Shakaishugisha Renmei (Japan Socialist Federation).

part of the conspiracy (actually he had no plans for anything). Kotoku's arrival at the trial created a dramatic scene worthy of a Hollywood movie: as the news literally buzzed around the courtroom, the proceedings came to a sudden halt and Osugi proudly unfurled the red flags for Kotoku to see.

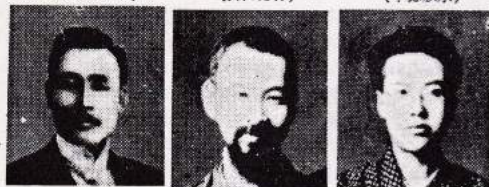
On June 1, 1910, Kotoku was arrested for plotting to assassinate the Emperor. He was still involved in getting *The Conquest of Bread* published and had no plans for other activity. On February 24, 1911, he was executed with the other 11.



(成石平四郎)

(古河力作)

(幸徳秋水)



(奥宮健之)

(大石誠之助)

(新村忠雄)



(内山嘉吉)

(森近高平)

(新美卯一郎)



(松尾卯一太)

(宮下太吉)

(菅野すが)

In 1920 Osugi made what is considered to be one of his most disastrous mistakes: feeling that it was urgent to make a revolution in Japan, he attempted to form an alliance with the pro-Bolshevik groups (there wasn't a CP yet), that, while still much weaker than the Syndicalists, had the advantage of better international contacts. He attended a Far East Comintern meeting in Shanghai as the Japanese delegate, but was quickly isolated when he began to criticize the Bolsheviks. "Rodo Undo" was re-organized on a co-operative basis with the Communists; the more sectarian Anarchists left the Syndicalist movement, while the paper became extremely disorganized, with every article the subject of intense bickering between the two groups. In 1921 "Rodo Undo" was again re-organized, without the Communists.

Daijiro Furuta began organizing farmers, who were extremely poor and dissatisfied, but lacking class-consciousness and still very conservative, into Kosakunin Sha (Tenants League).

In 1922 the Japan Communist Party was officially established by the "Lecture" wing of the Socialists (the "Peasant-Worker" wing continued as the Socialist Party). The next year the police got hold of a complete membership list and the CP was wiped out. The pre-war CP never had more than 1,000 members.

The first terrorist group, Guillotine Sha, was formed. Its members included Furuta, Tetsu Nakahama, and Kozo Kawai. Aside from Nakahama, who was a sort of Japanese Nechaev, they thought of terrorism as more of a form of revolutionary justice than as a means of destroying the state.

In 1923 Japan was hit by one of the greatest earthquakes in history. The government blamed it on the Koreans, setting off a pogrom in which thousands of Koreans were killed. Taking advantage of the confusion, military police killed Osugi and Ito and threw their bodies into a well. Bokuretsu,⁷ a Chinese Anarchist, and Fumiko Kaneko, his Japanese wife, were arrested and later killed, as were a number of other Syndicalists.

In 1923 the government extended the vote to the working class. As a result, many unions, including some syndicalist, became involved in electoral activity.

"Rodo Undo" continued with Kondo as the editor. Shinyu Kai and Seishin Kai joined to form Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai (Tokyo Printers Union). Guillotine Sha's first action took place, an unsuccessful attempt to rob a bank.

In 1924 there were several large (by the standards of the time) outright Syndicalist unions, the largest Nihon Insatsuko Renmei (Japan Printers' Federation) with 3,850 members, followed by Kanto Rodo Kumiai Renmei (Kanto [the Tokyo area] Workers' Union) with 1,430 and Chugoku Rodo Kumiai Renmei (Chugoku [the Hiroshima area] Workers' Union Federation) with 1,360. The Syndicalists had been disorganized since the death of Osugi and were growing weaker; they still had about three times the strength of the CP controlled unions.

Ishikawa organized the Japan Fabian Society.

At the end of the year Genjiro Muraki and Kyutaro Wada shot Sgt. Fukuda, the leader of the soldiers that killed Osugi and Ito. After the death of Osugi they had lost faith in Syndicalism and had turned to terrorism for revenge, without hope of changing society.

Guillotine Sha attempted to kill the brother of the man who had actually killed Osugi and Ito (the murderer himself had gone to Manchuria, where the government had given him a good job). Although

they had made some bombs, Guillotine Sha was not very successful in its terrorism. All its members were caught and 20 executed.⁸

After several years of internal wrangling, Sodomei expelled the revolutionary unions in 1925. Sodomei was left with 13,960 members, while the left formed Hyogi Kai with 12,655 members. From then on, both federations split in every direction. Hyogi Kai soon came under the domination of the CP and the non-Communists left; that, combined with intense government repression, quickly reduced it to only a few thousand members.

The first meeting of the CP's Peasant-Labour Party was broken up by Kokuren (Black Youth Federation), recently formed by a number of Kanto groups and unions.

The Japan Fabian Society dissolved, as it had become almost exclusively Anarchist and had little resemblance to Fabianism.

The Japan Peasants' Union, a quite moderate group organized by Christian-Socialists in 1922, grew to 67,000 members in 1926. Its first move into politics was to join with the CP in the formation of the Peasant Labour Party, a disaster that provoked a series of splits.

Nomin Jichi Kai (Peasants' Self-Control League), the most successful of the Syndicalist attempts to organize peasants, was founded in 1925. Led by Kazuo Kato, it had 243 branches and 6,300 members in 1927.

In 1926 Kokuren raided the Ginza, the high-class nightclub and shopping area of Tokyo. That same year it helped in various union struggles.

Kansai (Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area) Anarchists formed Kuro Hata Renmei (Black Flag Federation). Young Anarchists in Chubu (near Nagoya) formed Chubu Kokuren; Kokuren groups later formed in several other areas.

The Syndicalist unions officially banded together in Jiren (National Free Federation of Workers' Unions). It included 29 unions with a total membership of 55,000.

Jiren and Kokuren conducted a large campaign in 1927 on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Part of Kokuren tried to organize peasants into Noson Undo Remei (Rural Movement Federation), without spectacular success.

In China, a National Labour University was established; Yamaga, Ishikawa, and Iwasa went as lecturers. Jiren sent a delegate to a Comintern sponsored pan-Pacific labour union meeting in China.

Jiren split between Anarchists and Syndicalists in 1928; although the Anarchist faction was by far the larger, it was becoming increasingly isolated from the actual working class struggle. The Syndicalist faction organized itself as Jikyo (Free Federation of Labour Unions Committee), while the Anarchist faction continued as Jiren.

In 1928 the complete works of Kropotkin were translated into Japanese and two years later those of Bakunin.

In 1929 the only legal Anarchist publication, Kokushoku Sensen (Black Front), posed as a literary magazine; only seven issues were allowed to appear. Ishikawa published "Dynamic" underground.

Kansai and Chugoku Kokuren re-organized as Anarchist Seinen Renmei (Anarchist Youth Federation) and published an underground theoretical journal, "Kuro Hata" (Black Flag).

In 1931 Jiren had 11,000 members and Jikyo 2,800. Nomin Jichi Bunka Renmei (Peasants' Self-Control Cultural Federation), a descendant of Nomin Jichi Kai, had 1,000 members.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. The temporary economic boom created led to increased wages and high employment; the non-political unions grew rapidly.

Jikyo led twenty strikes in 1933 and joined with Jiren and several non-Anarchist groups in the Anti-Fascist Confederation.

In 1934 Museifu-Kyosan To (Anarcho-Communist Party) was formed, led by Tei Uemura; it attempted, with little success, to organize co-operation between workers and peasants. Jikyo and Jiren re-united.

1935: CP dissolves!!! For some time it has been too weak to engage in any activity and finally decided to give up.

In 1937, as the economic effects of war began to hurt, 123,730 workers went on strike (compared to 30,900 the year before); the next year the number fell 18,300. The moderate unions tried to survive by co-operating with the military, but collapsed in 1940 when ordered to join the "Industrial Patriotic Society".

As the country moved toward outright military rule, repression became worse. After Museifu-Kyosan To robbed a bank, all 400 of its militants were arrested. The Jiren unions began to collapse.

In 1936, as the repression grew still worse, 350 Kokuren militants were arrested. A special "Public Order" Law for Anarchists was made, leading to more arrests.

Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai joined the Popular Front. With only 250 members, it was the only Anarchist group left. In 1938 it was destroyed and, except for isolated individual activity, the Anarchist movement disappeared.

Sakae Osugi

Sakae Osugi was born in 1885, the son of an army officer. As his family was constantly moving, he never had the sense of community that was important to other Japanese radicals. He was very shy and stammered badly—when shocked or scolded by parents or teachers he was unable to speak at all.

Osugi entered military school at 14. At 16 he was part of a large group suspended for homosexuality. Six months later he was expelled after being badly injured wrestling.

At 17 he went to Tokyo and became a Christian. In 1903, when 18, he visited Heimin-Sha, but didn't become a Socialist until he finished school two years later.

In March 1906 he was arrested for the first time, at a demonstration against raising traffic fees. In September he got married and, soon after, opened an Esperanto school.

In 1907 he was jailed for seven months for publishing Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young". In January of the next year he went back to jail for three months for making a speech from a roof. In April 1908 he became a student in order to dodge the draft, but was arrested in June during the Red Flag Incident.

Osugi spent three years and four months in jail during a five-year period beginning in 1906. He adopted a policy of learning a new language every time he went to prison; he knew eight when he died. He also studied science and during the "Winter of Socialism" he translated a number of scientific works into Japanese.

Osugi was released from prison in November 1910. For some time it was impossible to engage in any political activity. When he began publishing "Kindai

Shiso" with Arahata he was able to gradually write more openly about social philosophy. Beginning with articles like "Instinct and Creation" and "Inclinations of Modern Science", he progressed to "Amplification of Life" and "Factory of Chains". In "Intellectual Masturbation" he denounced intellectuals, whom he disliked and avoided, for devising nice theories and disputing fine points while doing nothing.

In 1913 Osugi caught TB. In 1914 he met Noe Ito, at that time publishing Seito (Blue Stocking), a women's lib magazine, and married to a well-known follower of Stirner.

During 1915 and 1916 Osugi's love life became extremely complicated, climaxing in his being stabbed by one of his girl friends in November of 1916.⁹ He finally settled down with Noe Ito and had five children.

After he split with the Communists and seeing their disruptive activities, Osugi realized it would be necessary to fight on two "fronts". Before, he had thought all radicals could fight together to build the new society.

In September, 1922, Osugi attended a meeting to unify two unions, one Anarchist and the other CP. At the meeting he gave a famous speech criticizing Trotsky's theories—he appears to have had a much better understanding of the differences among the Bolsheviks than any of the Marxists in Japan or Europe.

In 1922 Osugi got a letter from France announcing an international Anarchist conference. Osugi had heard about Makhno and the Kronstadt revolt and wanted to get some first-hand information, especially from Voline, and so went to France on a false passport, posing as a Chinese.

At a May Day meeting in Paris, Osugi criticized holding a peaceful indoor meeting and urged the crowd to attack some factories. A large number of police immediately raided the hall and busted Osugi before he finished his speech. He was deported back to Japan.

Two months after his return, Osugi, Noe Ito, and a six-year-old nephew were killed on September 16, 1923. Amakasu, the man who actually killed Osugi, was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released the next year and given a good job in Manchuria, beyond the reach of any potential assassins. The night before the funeral, the bodies were taken by rightists.

While Osugi was closer to Kropotkin in his social theories, his character and activities were more like Bakunin's. It has been said that he was not a theorist, but a man of instinct. He said that liberty is more than just life and play, free from oppression; but, if you don't want life, you can't get liberty.

In "Creation of Life", published in "Kindai Shiso", Osugi criticized Marxism for exaggerating historical materialism and the inevitability of social evolution, a theory that leads to the suppression of spontaneity and creativity. Reformation of society is possible, but Socialism is not a predetermined fate. Socialists say that our social life creates our individual conscience, but actually it's the other way around; our own individual conscience will create the new social life. The real life of the Social Revolution starts when workers begin to think; revolutionaries should teach the workers to want to learn and help them to develop their intellectual abilities. There is a direction to the movement, but no definite end—the ideals are not future goals, but are always with the movement and progress and change with it. We are not seeking freedom and creativity for the future, but for now.



Vindicating a Vilified Revolutionary

IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF *Libertarian Analysis* (Winter 1970), Joseph R. Peden, in the essay "Courts Against the State" deals with three cases, one being the Reichstag Fire, in which he accepts the findings of the International Commission trial, held on September 20, 1933 that implicates Marinus van der Lubbe as a tool of the Nazis in setting the fire. At the same time Peden attaches a footnote to the effect that "Tobias rejects the insinuation". In the bibliography Peden lists Tobias as the author of *The Reichstag Fire* (1964).

Thanks to that footnote I was led to read the Tobias volume.

The significant impact of this volume can be gleaned from the introduction, written by Prof. A. J. P. Taylor of Magdalen College, Oxford, wherein he states, in part:

"As a scholar I am just as pleased at being proved wrong as being proved right. The essential thing is to acknowledge one's mistake. On the Reichstag fire I was as wrong as everyone else; and I am grateful to Herr Tobias for putting me right." (Prof. Taylor refers here to an article he had written on "Who burned the Reichstag?" in *History of Today*, August, 1960.)

Tobias, in his preface, relates to his own background: In 1946 he became an honorary member of the "Denazification Court", and in 1953, a member of the state civil service, thereby gaining access to whatever records there existed, from the very day of February 27, 1933, when the Reichstag was set on fire. By 1956 he had been "steadily amassing fresh evidence on the Reichstag fire", and when he agreed to the publication of some extracts from the book that he had prepared, in *Der Spiegel* (The Mirror), they were "greeted with howls of rage" (p. 17-18).

In the chapter "The Arsonist", Tobias indicates that in September 1955—twenty-two years after the Reichstag fire—Johan van der Lubbe of Amsterdam petitioned the Berlin County Court to repeal the sentence by the Supreme Court in Leipzig on his brother Marinus December 23, 1933. Three years later his petition was dismissed for purely formal reasons. . . . To this day most people believe that van der Lubbe was a congenital delinquent in the service of the Nazis. All attempts to describe the real van der Lubbe come up against two books published in 1933-1934 by Communist propagandists in Paris with the sole aim of proving that the Reichstag was burned by the Nazis. In order to make that story stick van der Lubbe had to be turned into a Nazi at all costs (p. 31).

A totally different picture of van der Lubbe unfolds itself in the police records, starting with the one of March 3, 1933, given by Inspector Heisig and Dr. Zirpius. It reads, in part:

"He is endowed with a great deal (admittedly one-sided) intelligence, and appearance to the contrary, he is a very bright fellow . . . spoke German fluently . . . and fearlessly."

In the same report, the following statement made by van der Lubbe, is given:

"At the outset I must insist that my action was inspired by political motives . . . I have always followed German politics with keen interest. . . . I was a member of the Communist Party until 1929. What I did not like about the Party is the way they lord it over the workers. . . . The masses themselves must decide what they ought to do. (These were in fact the views of the Rode or Inter-

national Communists, a tiny Dutch splinter group. . . .) In Germany a National Coalition has now been formed. . . . I decided to go to Germany and to see for myself. . . . Once here. . . . In Dusseldorf where I spoke to workers in the street. I did the same thing in other towns. . . . I found out whereas the National Coalition has complete freedom in Germany the workers have not. . . . Now, what the workers organizations are doing is not likely to rouse the workers to the struggle for freedom. That's why I discussed better ways and means with the workers. . . . I asked the workers to demonstrate. But all I was told was to take the matter to the Party—the Communist Party. But I had heard that a Communist demonstration was disbanded by the leaders on the approach of the police, and the people listened to these leaders. . . . Since the workers would do nothing I had to do something by myself. I did not wish to harm private people but something that belonged to system itself; official buildings, the welfare office . . . or the city hall . . . and further the Palace. . . . When these three failed to come off . . . I decided on the Reichstag as the centre of the whole system. . . . As to the question whether I acted alone, I declare emphatically that this was the case. No one had helped me." (From Prelim. Exam., Vol. 1, p. 57—Tobias pp. 34-36.)

Tobias gives interesting information about van der Lubbe's background that he gathered from various sources. Van der Lubbe was born on January 13, 1909. He was apprenticed as a builder to his brother-in-law. He became a member of the "Zaier" (Sowers) Group, a Communist Youth Organisation. In 1929 he rented an empty store-room—baptised Lenin Hall—and wrote anti-capitalist and anti-militarist tracts and leaflets. He finally broke with the Communist Party for reasons that are not clear and then joined the PIC or Party of International Communists, a group opposed to party discipline who were better known as the "Rade" or Council Communists. This group saw that spontaneous, individual action, alone would evoke the workers into a revolutionary situation.

In 1931, van der Lubbe and his Communist friend Henrik Holverda planned a trip through Europe to Russia that failed for lack of funds in Westphalia, after van der Lubbe got ten days' imprisonment for selling postcards without a licence. These postcards had an imprint which read: "Workers' Sports and Study Tour of Marinus van der Lubbe and H. Holverda through Europe and the Soviet Union. Start of the tour from Leyden, April 14th, 1931." This was a common trick at that time of raising funds whilst travelling. However the Communist Party in the "Brown Book" used this as the basis of their charge that Marinus was a "pathological liar". They also tried to brand him an homosexual in the same document. The Roodboek (the Red Book) refuted this incredible pastiche of evidence with concrete proof from people who knew him well, including a girl friend that he used to visit when he was in Austria.

On his last journey to Germany, Tobias relates:—

"On 30th January, 1933, Dutch newspapers, in common with newspapers the world over, reported the Nazi victory in Germany in banner headlines. Adolf Hitler had been appointed Reich Chancellor. Subsequent issues were full of reports about Nazi outrages. Only the Communist papers consoled their readers with glib assurances that Hitlerism was nothing but the death rattle of expiring capitalism. Soon the victorious

workers would sweep away even this excrescence and under the leadership of 'the vanguard of the proletariat'—the Communist Party of Germany—begin to build a better and more equitable society. Marinus van der Lubbe, who bought all the papers that he could, had heated discussions with his friends, particularly Koos von Vink, about the revolutionary possibilities which might, indeed which were bound to, result from the inevitable clash between the bourgeois-fascist hordes and the revolutionary proletariat. He felt that something tremendous, something unique was happening in Germany and, after waiting for another few days, he set out on foot for Berlin, the great centre of political events. The date was the 3rd February, 1933" (p. 44).

On the 18th reached Berlin, hitch-hiking most of the way and stayed in a men's hostel in the Alexandrienstrasse. The following day he saw a concert organised by the Social Democrats closed down by the police without any explanation.

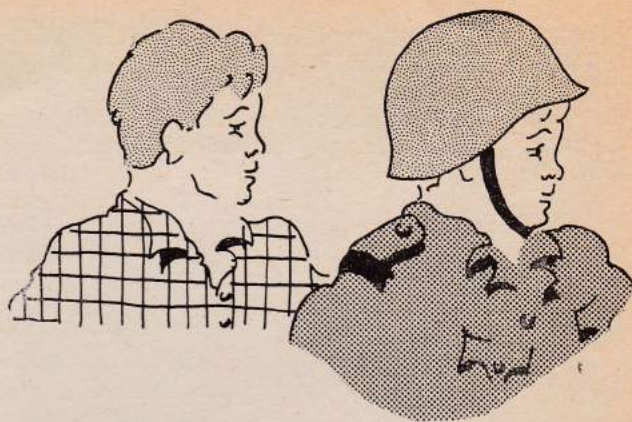
"It did not take Marinus long to abandon his rosy view of the situation—nowhere had he met the anticipated resolution to fight against the brown 'mercenaries of capitalism', and though he missed no opportunity of inveighing against Hitlerism, no one seemed to care. . . . He suggested spontaneous marches, of the kind that proved so successful in Holland but passers-by took no notice of him or else treated him with suspicion. . . . On Wednesday, 22nd February, at about 10 a.m., he turned up outside the Welfare Office in Neukölln, where he harangued a number of unemployed who happened to be standing about. . . . It was here, in Neukölln, that van der Lubbe first suspected the truth: among the countless unemployed and Communists he had met in Berlin, not one was prepared to make even the slightest sacrifice for the cause. If anything at all could still be done, he would have to do it himself. . . .

On a billboard he saw a placard announcing a Communist Party Meeting in the Sportpalast, and he immediately made for it, after having asked a newspaper seller the way. . . . As he intended speaking at the meeting he made a number of notes. Then he walked about the streets, and finally appeared at the Sportpalast at about 6 p.m. The main speaker was to be Communist Deputy Wilhelm Pieck.

As it happened, Marinus van der Lubbe was not given a chance to express his views—the meeting was closed by the police as soon as it was started, and with no resistance on the part of the audience. Completely disgusted, van der Lubbe returned to his hotel seething with impotent rage and unable to fall asleep for a long time. The great Communist Party of Germany had gone into voluntary liquidation. . . . It was that (following) Friday night that he finally decided to take matters into his own hands, and to begin by setting a number of public buildings on fire. Perhaps, once the intimidated masses saw these strongholds of capitalism going up in flames, they might shake off their lethargy even at this late hour" (pp. 44-46).

SETTING IN MOTION THE SLANDERING OF VAN DER LUBBE

Tobias sets forth a documented exposure of the despicable role that the Communist movement of the world played in unleashing the two Brown books, whose sole purpose was to brand van der Lubbe as



a tool of the Nazis in setting the Reichstag on fire. Tobias states that:

"It is mainly thanks to the recantations of ex-Communists that we know anything at all about the Communist 'Agitprop' (Agitation and Propaganda Department) in Paris. . . . Arthur Koestler in particular, has thrown much light on that charmed circle of Communist intellectuals whose central star was Willi Münzenberg. . . . He was one of the founders of the German Young Communist League. . . . On the evening of the Reichstag fire, chance threw Münzenberg near the Swiss frontier. . . . He crossed into Switzerland . . . (then) to Paris. In France, to which 25,000 of the 60,000 German refugees had fled, Münzenberg quickly established his Comintern propaganda headquarters and launched his world-wide anti-fascist campaign which as Koestler put it, was: "a unique feat in the history of propaganda".

"This (World Committee) with its galaxy of international celebrities became the hub of the crusade. Great care was taken that no Communist—except a few internationally known names such as Henri Barbusse and J. B. S. Haldane should be connected in public with the Committee. But the Paris secretariat which was running the Committee, was a purely Communist caucus, headed by Münzenberg and controlled by the Comintern. . . . Münzenberg himself worked in a large room within the World Committee's premises, but no outsider ever learned about this. It was as simple as that. He (Münzenberg) produced International Committees, Congresses and movements as a conjuror produces rabbits out of his hat. . . . He organized the Reichstag Counter-Trial, the public hearings in Paris and London in 1933 . . ." (Tobias, pp. 101-103, quoting Koestler: *The Invisible Writing*, p. 198, and *The God That Failed*, p. 81).

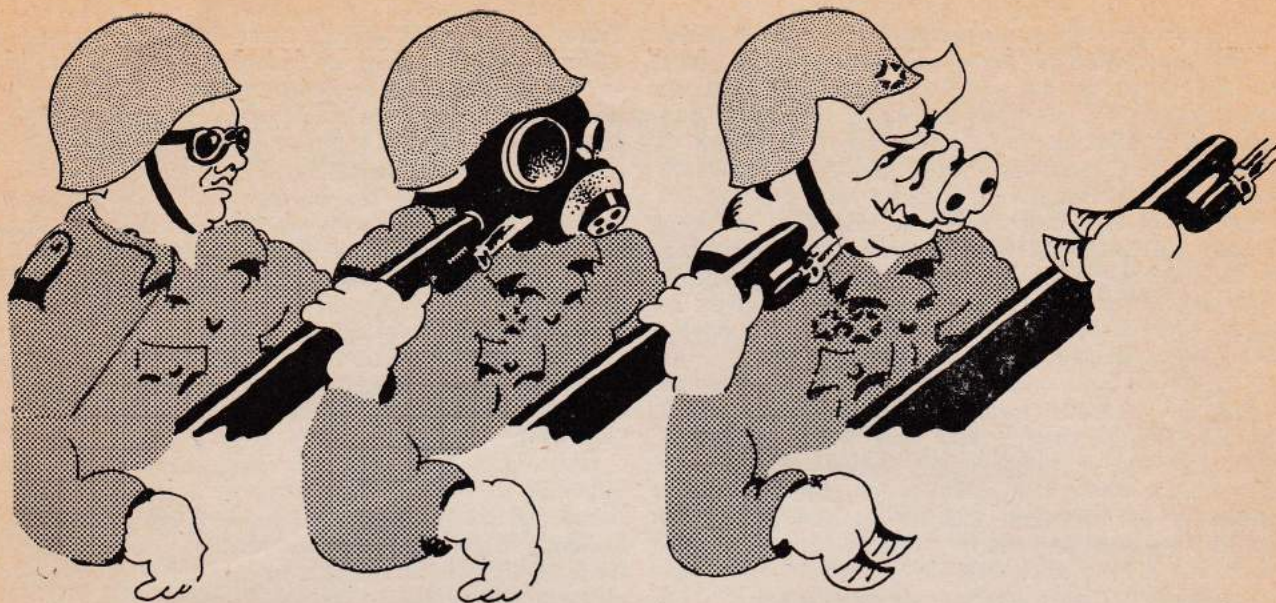
THE LONDON COUNTER-TRIAL

Under this heading Tobias quotes Alfred Kanterowitz's reminiscence about the preparation of the Brown Book:

"The world at large learned of the history of the fire and of the true incendiaries from the Brown Book. . . . In Paris, all this evidence was . . . carefully checked by a group of well known writers and journalists . . . and the author of this report." (Aufbau No. 2, 1947.)

Tobias then proceeds to quote Arthur Koestler as to the authenticity of Kanterowitz's claim:

"We had no direct proof, no access to witnesses, only underground communications with Germany. . . .



We had to rely on guesswork, on bluffing.” (*The Invisible Writing*, p. 197.)

Tobias states that “by means of the careful sifting of witnesses, the secretariat—that is Otto Katz—made sure of one thing at least; the systematic exclusion of any real friends of van der Lubbe” (p. 126).

“The findings of the International Commission Trial made on September 20, 1933, were:

1. That van der Lubbe is not a member but an opponent of the Communist Party; that no connection whatever can be traced between the Communist Party and the burning of the Reichstag; that the accused Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev ought to be regarded . . . innocent of the crime charges. . . .
2. That the documents, the oral evidence . . . tend to establish that van der Lubbe could not have committed the fire alone.
3. That . . . grounds exist for suspecting that the Reichstag was set on fire by or on behalf of, leading personalities of the National Socialist Party” (pp. 126-127).

THE TRIAL IN GERMANY

Judge Paul Vogt, states Tobias:

“Asked the entire German Press to publish photographs of Marinus van der Lubbe together with a reward of 20,000 marks—a tremendous amount at that time—to anyone offering useful information. . . . Of the many who came forward, a large number were unmasked for what they were: petty crooks and informers. . . . But . . . none of them produced any further accomplices, so that Judge Vogt felt that he must hang on at any cost to the five suspects (van der Lubbe, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev) he already had. . . . Vogt held fast to his Communist putsch theory. He accordingly dismissed van der Lubbe’s protestation that he had fired the Reichstag by himself” (pp. 180-181).

Tobias quotes from the court record (pp. 186-188), the court’s repeated attempt to have van der Lubbe admit that he could not have set fire to the Reichstag alone, but to no avail. This prompted Tobias into

commenting: “And van der Lubbe had spoken the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.”

Furthermore, writes Tobias, “. . . no single witness was able to establish that the Communists made any plan for an organised uprising, in which case the Reichstag fire could have been a Communist ‘signal’ for anything” (p. 204).

Substantiating the statement, Tobias brings this testimony given by Dimitrov in court: “. . . The Reichstag fire had nothing to do with an insurrection, a demonstration or anything of that nature. The Reichstag fire was not regarded by—I exclude criminals and the mentally deranged—as a signal for insurrection. No one observed any deed, act or attempt at insurrection in connection with the Reichstag fire” (p. 250).

Not satisfied with this cowardly admission on its own, Dimitrov demanded of the court, “That van der Lubbe be declared the misused tool of the enemies of the working classes” (p. 252). Prof. Emile Josse, lecturer on thermodynamics, answering Dimitrov—as to whether van der Lubbe could have started the fire alone—stated: “For a time I believed that he could not have done so, but, during the on-site inspection, I saw the speed with which van der Lubbe crashed through the windows and was told that he was in a lather of sweat when he was arrested, I came to the conclusion that he might have done it with adequate preparation” (p. 256).

CHANGED APPEARANCE OF VAN DER LUBBE

“The general appearance of van der Lubbe,” states Tobias, “caused a tremendous stir among the observers.” Tobias then quotes from Ferdinand Kugler’s “Das Geheimnis des Reichstag Rumdes” (the “Mystery of the Reichstag Fire”), in part: “. . . according to the affidavit and also the police witnesses, van der Lubbe was intelligent, mentally alert and quick to respond. But the van der Lubbe whom we were now shown was a mental wreck, completely broken and dull-witted” (p. 206).

According to the French Ambassador François-

Poncet, van der Lubbe was probably drugged. Answering this supposition, Tobias poses the logical question: "In fact, drugging van der Lubbe would have made sense had he . . . provided the Nazis with what they needed; a confession that he had acted on behalf of the German Communist Party. This he steadfastly refused to do. But if not drugged, why did van der Lubbe whom Inspector Hesig had described as being so alert after the fire, appear in court speechless, bowed, slaving, with a running nose and, in general, wretched-looking? Part of the answer was given by Kugler who wrote: 'It is quite possible that, having been kept in shackles for seven long months . . . van der Lubbe was so exhausted that he had a nervous breakdown.' Van der Lubbe, unlike the other accused, had not a single friend, and thus was a singularly defenceless butt of Judge Vogt's sadistic attacks. To make things worse; his intended protest against the enemies of the working class had helped those very enemies to power, and his former associates were now calling him a Nazi stooge" (p. 276).

VAN DER LUBBE'S FINAL STATEMENT

Tobias states that "much has been written by the Communist Press alleging that van der Lubbe was drugged", but on November 23, the forty-third day of the trial, van der Lubbe rose to speak, and the following exchange took place:

van der Lubbe: "We have had three trials now, the first in Leipzig, the second in Berlin and the third in Leipzig again. I should like to know when the verdict will be pronounced and executed."

President: "I can't tell you that yet. It all depends on you, on your naming your accomplices."

van der Lubbe: "But that has all been cleared up. I fired the Reichstag by myself, and there must be a verdict. This thing has gone on for eight months, and I cannot agree with this at all."

President: "Then tell us who your accomplices were."

van der Lubbe: "My fellow defendants have all admitted that they had nothing to do with the fire, were not even in the Reichstag, and did not fire it."

President: "I have told you repeatedly that the court cannot accept your statement that you were alone. You simply must tell us with whom you did it and who helped you."

And, again, later in the same day:—

van der Lubbe: "I can only repeat that I set fire to the Reichstag all by myself. . . ."

President: "Have you read the opinion of the experts who say that one man could not have started the fire?"

van der Lubbe: "Yes, I know that is the personal opinion of the experts. But then, I was there and they were not" (pp. 282-284).

What a striking comparison between the position taken in court by Marinus van der Lubbe and George Dimitrov!

The first, courageously persisting to absolve his "co-defendants" and the second referring to van der Lubbe as either one of a class of "criminals" or "mentally deranged"!!!

In the annals of mankind's struggles for social and political liberation, the name of Marinus van der Lubbe will forever be remembered as that of an uncompromising heroic revolutionist, while those of Dimitrov, Popov,

Tanov and Torgler will go down in history as one of infamy—for admitting, as Dimitrov did in court, that the Communist Party had not engaged "*in an insurrection . . . strike . . . demonstration, or anything of that nature . . .*"—acts that might have aroused the German people to meet the rising menace of Nazism!

Tobias concludes his narrative: "When the death sentence was pronounced on van der Lubbe, whilst all his co-defendants were freed, on December 23, 1933, the Dutch Ambassador in Berlin appealed for clemency, and countless petitions poured into Germany from all over the world (but to no avail). On January 10, 1934, van der Lubbe was led out of his cell, he looked calm and peaceful. There was not a tear, no belated confession. A few moments later Marinus van der Lubbe was dead" (p. 284).

Uncompromising fighters for freedom will be forever indebted to Fritz Tobias—for the forthright manner which for the first time, he brought forth documentary evidence that fully vindicates Marinus van der Lubbe from all the slanders hurled at him by his co-accused, all leading Communists, as well as revealing the equally despicable manner in which the Nazis attempted to force van der Lubbe to implicate the cowardly co-accused and who executed him because of his refusal to do so.

It needs to be pointed out here, aside from the splinter Communist group that rallied to the defence of Marinus van der Lubbe (the first one being the International Defence Committee of van der Lubbe, formed in Amsterdam, Holland), the official Communist press of the world re-echoed the cowardly slanderous position against van der Lubbe taken by the co-accused Communists at the trial.

The anarchist press hailed Marinus van der Lubbe as an heroic martyred revolutionist.*

MARCUS GRAHAM

*Man! (Oct., Nov. 1933 and Feb., Apr., Aug. 1934).



The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State

Michael Bakunin

THIS WORK, LIKE ALL THE WRITINGS which I have published until now—so far there have been few enough—is a product of events. It is the natural continuation of my *Letters to a Frenchman* (September 1870), in which I had the easy and sad privilege of foreseeing and predicting the horrible misfortunes which are today assailing France, and along with her, the whole civilised world; misfortunes against which there has been and remains only one remedy now: *the Social Revolution*.

To prove this truth—from now on indisputable—from the historical development of society and from the very events taking place before our eyes in Europe, in such a way as to make it acceptable to all men of good will, and by all sincere seekers of the truth—and then to set forth frankly without reticence or equivocation the philosophical principles as well as the practical goals which make up, so to speak, the essence of the activist spirit, the basis and the aim of what we call the Social Revolution—such is the object of the present work.

The task which I have set for myself is not easy, I know, and I might be accused of presumption if I brought into this work the least personal conceit. But there is none of that, I can assure the reader. I am neither a scholar nor a philosopher, nor even a writer by profession. I have written very little during my life and I have never done so, as it were, except in self-defence, and only when a passionate conviction compelled me to overcome the repugnance which I feel instinctively for parading my private self in public.

Who am I then, and what is it that compels me to publish this work at the present time? I am a passionate seeker of the truth, and none the less persistent an enemy to the harmful untruths which the *law and order party* (that official representative, privileged and self-seeking, of all the religious, metaphysical, political, legal, economic and social villainies, past and present) still has the arrogance to make use of today so as to brutalise and enslave the world. I am a fanatical lover of freedom, considering it as the unique environment within which the intelligence, dignity and happiness of mankind may develop and increase. I am not speaking of that freedom which is purely formal, doled out, measured, and regulated by the State, an everlasting lie which in reality never represents anything but the privilege of a few based on the enslavement of everyone else. Nor do I mean that individualistic, egotistical, malicious, and illusory freedom, extolled by

the school of J.-J. Rousseau, as by all the other schools of bourgeois liberalism, which considers the so-called rights of everyone, represented by the State as the limit of the rights of each individual, and which in fact leads of necessity and without exception to the reduction of the rights of the individual to zero. No, I mean the only freedom which is truly worthy of that name, the freedom which consists in the full development of all the material, intellectual, and moral powers which are found in the form of latent capabilities in every individual. I mean that freedom which recognises only those restrictions which are laid down for us by the laws of our own nature; so, properly speaking, there are no restrictions, since these laws are not imposed by some outside legislator situated maybe beside us or maybe above us, they are immanent in us and inherent in us and constitute the very basis of all our being, as much material as intellectual and moral. Thus, instead of trying to find a limit for them, we should consider them as the real conditions of and the real reason for our freedom.

I mean that freedom of the individual which, far from stopping as if before a boundary in face of the freedom of others, on the contrary finds in that freedom its own confirmation and extension to infinity; the unlimited freedom of each in the freedom of all, freedom in solidarity, freedom in equality; triumphant freedom, victorious over brute force and the principle of authority which was never anything but the idealised expression of brute force; freedom which, after overthrowing all the heavenly and earthly idols will establish and organise a new world, that of humanity in solidarity, built on the ruin of all Churches and all States.

I am a convinced supporter of *economic and social equality*, because I know that, outside that equality, freedom, justice, human dignity, morality, and the well-being of individuals, just as much as the prosperity of nations, will never be anything but lies. But, supporter though I may be of freedom, this first condition of humanity, I think that equality must be established in the world by the spontaneous organisation of work and of the collective ownership of producers' associations, freely organised and federated in the communes, and by the equally spontaneous federation of these communes, but not by the overriding and enslaving activity of the State.

This is the point which mainly divides the revolutionary socialists or collectivists from the authoritarian

communists who are supporters of the absolute power of the State. Their goal is the same: both one and the other faction equally desire the creation of a new social order based solely on the organisation of collective work, inevitably imposed on one and all by the very nature of things, in economic conditions which are equal for all, and upon the collective appropriation of the instruments of labour.

Only the communists imagine they will be able to attain this by the development and the organisation of the political power of the working classes, principally of the urban proletariat, with the help of bourgeois radicalism, while the revolutionary socialists, enemies of every tie and every alliance of an equivocal nature, think on the contrary that they will not be able to attain this goal except by the development and organisation, not of the political, but of the social (and, by consequence, anti-political) power of the working masses as much in the towns as in the countryside, including all the men of good will who, breaking with their past in the upper classes, might sincerely wish to join with them and wholly accept their programme.

From this two different methods are derived. The communists believe they should organise the workers' strength to take over the political power of the states. The revolutionary socialists organised with a view to the destruction, or, if one wants a more polite word, the liquidation, of the states. The communists are supporters of the principle and practice of authority; the revolutionary socialists have no faith except in freedom. Both the one and the other, equally supporters of science which is to destroy superstition and replace belief, differ in the former wishing to impose it, and the latter striving to propagate it; so that human groups, convinced of its truth, may organise and federate spontaneously, freely, from the bottom up, by their own momentum according to their real interests, but never according to any plan laid down in advance and imposed upon the *ignorant masses* by some superior intellects.

The revolutionary socialists think that there is much more practical and intellectual common-sense in the instinctive aspirations and in the real needs of the mass of the people than in the profound intelligence of all these doctors and teachers of mankind who, after so many fruitless attempts to make humanity happy, still aspire to add their own efforts. The revolutionary socialists think the opposite: that mankind has allowed itself to be governed long enough, too long, and that the origin of its unhappiness does not reside in this or that form of government but in the very principle and fact of government, whatever kind it may be.

Finally this is the same, already historic, contradiction which exists between the scientific communism developed by the German school and accepted in part by the American and English socialists on the one hand, and the Proudhonism widely developed and pushed right to these, its final consequences, on the other, accepted by the proletariat of the Latin countries.¹ Revolutionary socialism has just attempted its first demonstration, both splendid and practical, in the

Paris Commune.

I am a supporter of the Paris Commune which, because it was massacred and drowned in blood by the executioners of monarchic and clerical reaction, has therefore become all the more lively and powerful in the imagination and heart of the European proletariat. I am above all a supporter of it because it was a bold and outspoken negation of the State.

It is a tremendously significant historical fact that this negation of the State should have been manifested particularly in France, which has been until now the country par excellence of political centralisation, and that it should have been above all precisely Paris, the historic fountainhead of this great French civilisation, which should have taken the initiative. Paris, taking off its own crown and proclaiming its own downfall with enthusiasm so as to give freedom and life to France, to Europe, to the whole world! Paris, affirming once more its historic ability to take the lead, and showing to all the enslaved peoples (and which popular masses indeed are not slaves?) the unique way of emancipation and salvation! Paris, striking a mortal blow at the political traditions of bourgeois radicalism and providing a real basis for revolutionary socialism! Paris, earning once more the curses of all the reactionary gangs of France and Europe! Paris, being buried in its ruins so as to pronounce a solemn contradiction to triumphant reaction; saving by its catastrophe the honour and future of France, and proving to a comforted mankind that, if life, intelligence and moral power have disappeared from the upper classes, they have remained energetic and full of potential in the proletariat! Paris, inaugurating the new era, that of the final and complete emancipation of the masses of the people and of their solidarity, henceforth a matter of fact, across and despite state frontiers. Paris, destroying patriotism and building on its ruins the religion of humanity! Paris, proclaiming itself humanist and atheist; and replacing the fictions of religion by the great realities of social life and faith in science, replacing the lies and injustices of religious, political, and legal morality by the principles of freedom, justice, equality, and fraternity, these eternal fundamentals of all human morality! Heroic Paris, rational and faithful, confirming its energetic faith in the destinies of mankind even in its glorious downfall and destruction, and leaving that faith much more energetic and lively for the generations to come! Paris, soaked in the blood of its most generous-hearted children—there indeed is mankind crucified by the international and co-ordinated reaction of all Europe, under the immediate inspiration of all the Christian churches and that high-priest of iniquity, the Pope. But the next international and solidarist revolution of the people will be the resurrection of Paris.

Such is the true meaning, and such are the immense beneficial consequences, of the two months of the existence and the fall, forever memorable, of the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune lasted for too short a time, and it was too much hindered in its internal development by the mortal struggle which it had to maintain against the Versailles reaction, for it to have been able, I do not say even to apply, but to elaborate its socialist programme in theory. Besides, it must be recognised

¹It is equally accepted and will be accepted yet more by the essentially non-political instinct of the Slav peoples. [Bakunin's Note.]

that the majority of the members of the Commune were not strictly speaking socialists and that, if they appeared to be such, it was because they were irresistibly swept forward by the course of events, by the nature of their environment, and by the necessities of their position, and not by their own personal conviction. The socialists, at the head of whom our friend Varlin naturally takes his place, formed in the Commune only a very small minority indeed; they were at the very most only some fourteen or fifteen members. The remainder was composed of Jacobins. But, let it be understood, there are Jacobins and Jacobins. There are the lawyer and doctrinaire Jacobins, like M. Gambetta, whose *positivist* republicanism,² presumptuous, despotic, and formalistic, having repudiated the old revolutionary faith and having conserved nothing from Jacobinism except the cult of unity and authority, has surrendered popular France to the Prussians, and later to indigenous forces of reaction; and there are those Jacobins who are openly revolutionary, the heroes and last sincere representatives of the democratic faith of 1793, capable of sacrificing their well-armed unity and authority to the necessities of the Revolution, rather than bow down their consciences before the insolence of reaction. These great-hearted Jacobins, at the head of whom Delescluze naturally takes his place, a great spirit and a great character, wish for the triumph of the Revolution before all things. And since there is no revolution without the popular masses, and since these masses today have pre-eminently a socialist instinct and can no longer make any other revolution but an economic and social one, the Jacobins of good faith, allowing themselves to be led on more and more by the logic of the revolutionary movement, will end by becoming socialists in spite of themselves.

This was precisely the situation of the Jacobins who took part in the Paris Commune. Delescluze and many others with him signed programmes and proclamations of which the general line and promises were definitely socialist. But since, in spite of all their good faith and good intentions, they were only socialists more through external pressure than through internal conviction, and since they did not have the time or the capacity to overcome and suppress in themselves a mass of bourgeois prejudices which were in contradiction with their more recent socialist outlook, one can understand that, paralysed by this internal conflict, they could never escape from generalities, nor take one of those decisive steps which would break for ever their solidarity and all their connections with the bourgeois world.

This was a great misfortune for the Commune and for themselves; they were paralysed by it, and they paralysed the Commune; but it is not possible to reproach them for it, as though for a fault. Men do not change from day to day, nor do they change their own natures or habits at will. These men proved their sincerity, in letting themselves be killed for the Commune. Who will dare ask more of them?

They are all the more excusable, because the people of Paris, under whose influence they thought and acted, were themselves socialist much more by instinct than

by ideology or considered conviction. All their aspirations are to the highest degree and exclusively socialist; but their ideas, or rather the traditional representations of them, are still far from reaching that level. There are still many Jacobin prejudices, many dictatorial and governmental conceptions, among the proletariat of the large cities of France and even among that of Paris. The cult of authority, a fatal product of religious education, that historic source of all the evils, all the depravities and all the servility among the people, has not yet been entirely eradicated from their minds. It is equally true that even the most intelligent children of the people, the most convinced socialists, have not yet succeeded in entirely delivering themselves of it. Rummage in their conscience and you will still find there the Jacobin, the governmentalist, pushed back into some murky corner and, it is true, become very modest, but he is not entirely dead.

Furthermore, the situation of the small number of convinced socialists who formed part of the Commune was extremely difficult. Not feeling themselves sufficiently supported by the great mass of the Parisian population (the organisation of the International Association moreover being itself very imperfect, numbering scarcely a few thousand individuals), they had to keep up a daily struggle against the Jacobin majority. And in what circumstances indeed! They had to give bread and work to some hundreds of thousands of workers, organise them, arm them, and at the same time keep an eye on the reactionary manoeuvres going on in a huge city like Paris, under siege, threatened with starvation, and exposed to all the dirty tricks of the reactionary faction which had managed to set itself up and maintain itself at Versailles, *with the permission and by the favour of the Prussians*. They had to oppose a revolutionary government and army to the government and army of Versailles—that is, in order to combat monarchic and clerical reaction, they had to organise themselves in reactionary Jacobin fashion, forgetting or sacrificing what they themselves knew were the first conditions of revolutionary socialism.

Is it not natural that, in such circumstances, the Jacobins, who were the strongest because they constituted the majority in the Commune and who besides this possessed to an infinitely superior degree the political instinct and the tradition and practice of governmental organization, had immense advantages over the socialists? What one must surely find astounding is that they did not take more advantage than they did, that they did not give an exclusively Jacobin character to the Paris rising, and that they allowed themselves, on the contrary, to be carried on into a social revolution.

I know that many socialists, very consistent in their theoretical ideas, reproach our Paris friends for not showing themselves sufficiently socialist in their revolutionary practice, while all the loud-mouths of the bourgeois press accuse them on the contrary of having followed their socialist programme only too faithfully. Let us leave these ignominious denunciators from that section of the press on one side for the moment; I should like to make the point to the strict theoreticians of the emancipation of the proletariat that they are unjust to our Paris friends. For, between the most precise theories and putting them into practice there

²See his letter to Littré in the *Progrès de Lyon*. [Bakunin's Note.]

is an immense distance which cannot be covered in a few days. Whoever had the good fortune to know Varlin, for instance, to name only one whose death is certain, knows how much the socialist convictions in him and his friends were passionate, considered, and profound. These were men whose ardent enthusiasm, devotion, and good faith could never have been doubted by any of those who came across them. But precisely because they were men of good faith, they were full of mistrust in themselves when faced with the immense work they had devoted their life and their thought to: they counted for so little! They had moreover that conviction that, in the Social Revolution—diametrically opposed in this as in everything else to the Political Revolution—the action of individuals counted for almost nothing and the spontaneous action of the masses should count for everything. All that individuals can do is to elaborate, clarify, and propagate the ideas that correspond to the popular feeling, and, beyond this, to contribute by their ceaseless efforts to the revolutionary organisation of the natural power of the masses, but nothing beyond that. And everything else should not and could not take place except by the action of the people themselves. Otherwise one would end with political dictatorship, that is to say, the reconstruction of the State, of the privileges, injustices and all oppressions of the State, and one would arrive by a devious but logical path at the re-establishment of the political, social, and economic slavery of the popular masses.

Varlin and all his friends, like all sincere socialists, and in general like all workers born and bred among the people, shared to the highest degree this perfectly legitimate prejudice against the continual intervention of the same individuals, against the domination exerted by superior personages; and since they were fair-minded above all things, they turned this foresight, this mistrust just as much against themselves as against all the other individuals.

Contrary to that authoritarian communist type of thinking—in my opinion completely erroneous—that a Social Revolution can be decreed and organised, whether by a dictatorship or whether by a constituent assembly resulting from some political revolution, our friends, the socialists of Paris, thought that it could not be made nor brought to its full development except by the spontaneous and continuous action of the masses, the groups and the associations of the people.

Our friends in Paris were a thousand times right. For indeed, where is that head, however brilliant it may be, or if one wishes to speak of a collective dictatorship, were it formed by many hundreds of individuals endowed with superior faculties, where are those brains powerful enough and wide ranging enough to embrace the infinite multiplicity and diversity of the real interests, aspirations, wishes, and needs whose sum total constitutes the collective will of a people, and to invent a social organisation which can satisfy everybody? This organisation will never be anything but a Procrustean bed which the more or less obvious violence of the State will be able to force unhappy society to lie down on. That is what has always happened until now, and it is precisely this old system of organisation by force that the Social Revolution must put an end to, by giving back their complete

freedom to the masses, groups, communes, associations, individuals even, and by destroying once and for all the historic cause of all the violent acts, the power, and the very existence, of the State. The State must carry away in its fall all the injustices of the juridical law with all the lies of the various religions, this law and these religions never having been anything but the enforced consecration (as much ideological as actual) of all the violence represented, guaranteed and licensed by the State.

It is clear that freedom will never be given to mankind, and that the real interests of society, of all the groups and local organisations as well as of all the individuals who make up society, will only be able to find real satisfaction when there are no more States. It is clear that all the so-called general interests of society, which the State is alleged to represent and which in reality are nothing but the constant and general negation of the positive interests of the regions, communes, associations and the largest number of individuals subjected to the State, constitute an abstraction, a fiction, a lie, and that the State is like one great slaughter-house, and like an immense graveyard where, in the shadow and under the pretext of this abstraction, there come all the real aspirations, all the living initiatives of a nation, to let themselves be generously and sanctimoniously sacrificed and buried. And since no abstraction ever exists by itself or for itself, since it has neither legs to walk on, nor arms to create with, nor stomach to digest this mass of victims which it is given to devour, it is plain that, in exactly the same way that the religious or heavenly abstraction, God, represents in reality the very positive and very real interests of a privileged caste, the clergy (its terrestrial counterpart), so the political abstraction, the State, represents the no less real and positive interests of the class which is principally if not exclusively exploiting people today and which is moreover tending to swallow up all the others, the bourgeoisie. And just as the clergy is always divided and today is tending to divide itself all the more into a very powerful and a very rich minority and a majority which is very subordinate and rather poor, so, in the same way, the bourgeoisie and its diverse social and political organisations in industry, agriculture, banking and commerce, just as in all the administrative, financial, judicial, university, police and military functions of the State, is tending to weld itself further each day into a truly dominant oligarchy and a countless mass of creatures who are more or less vainglorious and more or less fallen, living in a perpetual illusion and pushed back inevitably more and more into the proletariat by an irresistible force, that of present-day economic development, and reduced to serving as blind instruments of this all-powerful oligarchy.

The abolition of the Church and of the State must be the first and indispensable condition of the real emancipation of society; after which (and only after which) it can, and must, organise itself in a different fashion, but not from top to bottom and according to an ideal plan, dreamt up by a few wise men or scholars, or even by force of decrees put out by some dictatorial force or even by a national assembly, elected by universal suffrage. Such a system, as I have already said, would lead inevitably to the creation of a new

State, and consequently to the formation of a governmental aristocracy, that is, an entire class of people, having nothing in common with the mass of the people. Certainly, that class would begin again to exploit the people and subject them under the pretext of the common good or in order to save the State.

The future social organisation must be made solely from the bottom upwards, by the free association or federation of workers, firstly in their unions, then in the communes, regions, nations and finally in a great federation, international and universal. Then alone will be realised the true and life-giving order of freedom and the common good, that order which, far from denying, on the contrary affirms and brings into harmony the interests of individuals and of society.

It is said that the harmony and universal solidarity of the interests of individuals and of society will never be capable of realisation in practice because society's interests, being contradictory, are not in a position to balance one another by themselves or even to come to some sort of understanding. To such an objection I will reply that, if up to the present day the interests have never anywhere been in mutual harmony, that was because of the State, which has sacrificed the interests of the majority to the profit of a privileged minority. That is why that notorious incompatibility and that struggle of personal interests with those of society is nothing less than a political deception and lie, born out of the theological lie which imagined the doctrine of original sin so as to dishonour man and destroy in him the sense of his own worth. This same false idea of the conflict of interests was also sown by the dreams of metaphysics which, as is known, is a close relative of theology. Not appreciating the sociability of human nature, metaphysics regards society as a mechanical aggregate of individuals, of a purely artificial kind, suddenly brought together in the name of some contract, either formal or secret, freely entered into or else under the influence of a higher power. Before uniting themselves in society, these individuals, endowed with a kind of immortal soul, enjoyed complete freedom.

But if the metaphysicians assert that men, above all those who believe in the immortality of the soul, are free beings outside society, we arrive inevitably then at this conclusion: that men cannot unite in society except on condition that they repudiate their freedom, their natural independence, and sacrifice their interests, first personal and then local. Such a renunciation and such a sacrifice of oneself must be, on that argument, all the more pressing as society becomes more numerous and its organisation more complex. In such a case the State is the expression of all the individual sacrifices. Existing under such an abstract form, and at the same time such a violent one, it continues, as goes without saying, to obstruct individual freedom more and more in the name of that lie which is known as the "public good", although it evidently only represents exclusively the interest of the ruling class. The State, in this way, appears to us as an inevitable negation and an annihilation of all freedom, all interest, individual as well as general.

We see here that in the metaphysical and theological systems everything is linked and explained self-consistently. This is why the logical defenders of these

systems can and indeed must, with an easy conscience, continue to exploit the popular masses by means of Church and State. Cramming their pockets and slaking all their foul desires, they can at the same time console themselves with the thought that they are taking all this trouble to the glory of God, for the victory of civilisation and for the eternal happiness of the proletariat. But we others, not believing either in God or in the immortality of the soul, nor in the individual freedom of the will, we assert that freedom must be understood in its completest and widest sense as the goal of the historic progress of mankind. By a strange, though logical, contrast, our idealist opponents of theology and metaphysics take the principle of freedom as the foundation and basis of their theories so as to conclude quite simply with the indispensability of the enslavement of men. We others, materialist in theory, we tend in practice to create and to make durable a rational and noble idealism. Our enemies, religious and transcendental idealists, come down to a practical, bloody, and vile materialism in the name of the same logic, according to which each development is the negation of the basic principle. We are convinced that all the richness of the intellectual, moral and material development of man, just like his apparent independence—that all this is the product of life in society. Outside society, man would not only not be free, but he would not be transformed into a real man at all, that is to say, into a being who has self-consciousness, who alone thinks and speaks. The combination of intelligence and collective work has alone been able to force man to leave the state of savagery and brutality which constituted his original nature or indeed his starting point for further development. We are profoundly convinced of this truth that the whole life of men—interests, trends, needs, illusions, stupidities even, just as much as the acts of violence, the injustices, and all the actions which have the appearance of being voluntary—represent only the consequence of the inevitable forces of life in society. People cannot admit the idea of interdependence, yet they cannot repudiate the reciprocal influence and the correlation between phenomena in the external world.

In nature itself, that marvellous interrelationship and network of phenomena is certainly not attained without struggle. Quite the contrary, the harmony of the forces of nature only appears as the actual result of that continual struggle which is the very condition of life and movement. In nature and also in society, order without struggle is death. If order is natural and possible in the universe, it is so solely because this universe is not governed according to some system imagined in advance and imposed by a supreme will. The theological hypothesis of a divine system of laws leads to an evident absurdity and to the negation not only of all order, but of nature itself. Natural laws are not real except in so far as they are inherent in nature, that is to say they are not fixed by any authority. These laws are only simple manifestations or else continual fluctuations of the development of things and of combinations of these very varied, transient, but real facts. Together this all constitutes what we call "nature". Human intelligence and its capability for science observed these facts, controlled

them experimentally, then re-united them in a system and called them laws. But nature itself knows no laws. It acts unconsciously, representing in itself the infinite variety of phenomena, appearing and repeating themselves in an inevitable way. That is why, thanks to this inevitability of action, universal order can and indeed does exist.

Such an order also appears in human society which apparently evolves in a supposedly non-natural manner, but actually submits to the natural and inevitable course of events. Only, the superiority of man over the other animals and the faculty of thinking brought to his development an individual characteristic—which is quite natural, let it be said in passing—in the sense that, like everything that exists, man represents the material product of the union and action of forces. This individual characteristic is the capacity for reasoning, or indeed that faculty for generalisation and abstraction, thanks to which man can project himself through thought, examining and observing himself like an alien and external object. Raising himself above his own level through the medium of ideas, just as he raises himself from the surrounding world, he arrives at the representation of perfect abstraction, absolute nothingness. And that absolute is nothing less than the faculty of abstraction, which scorns everything that exists and, arriving at complete negation, there comes to rest. It is already the final limit of the highest abstraction of thought: that absolute nothingness is God.

That is the meaning and the historic basis of every theological doctrine. Not understanding the nature and the material causes of their own thoughts, not taking account of the conditions even or of the natural laws which are peculiar to them, these first men and societies certainly could not suspect that their absolute notions were only the result of the faculty of conceiving abstract ideas. That is why they considered these ideas taken from nature as if they were real objects, before which nature itself would cease to have any reality. They took it into their heads afterwards to worship their own fictions, their impossible notions of the absolute, and to grant them all kinds of honour. But they had the need, in some fashion, to represent and make tangible the abstract idea of nothingness or of God. To this end, they inflated the concept of divinity and endowed it into the bargain with all the qualities and powers, good and evil, which they only came across in nature and in society.

Such was the origin and historic development of all religions, beginning with fetishism and ending with Christianity.

We hardly have the intention of plunging into the history of religious, theological and metaphysical absurdities and still less of speaking of the successive unfolding of all the incarnations and divine visions created by centuries of barbarism. Everybody knows that superstition always gives birth to frightful sufferings and causes the flow of streams of blood and tears. Let us say only that all these sickening aberrations of poor mankind were historical events, inevitable in the normal growth and evolution of social organisms. Such aberrations engendered in society the fatal idea, dominating the imagination of men, that the universe were supposedly governed by a supernatural force and

will. Centuries succeeded centuries, and societies became accustomed to this idea to such an extent that they finally destroyed within themselves every tendency towards a further progress, and every capacity they had to reach it.

First the ambition of a few individuals, then a few social classes, erected slavery and conquest into a vital principle, and implanted more than any other this terrible idea of the divinity. Since when all society was impossible without those two institutions as a base, the Church and the State. These two social scourges are defended by all the dogmatists.

Scarcely had these institutions appeared in the world than all of a sudden two castes were organised: that of the priests and the aristocracy, who without losing any time did the job of inculcating deeply into that enslaved people the indispensability, usefulness and sanctity of the Church and the State.

All that had as its goal the changing of brutal slavery into legal slavery, provided for and consecrated by the will of the Supreme Being.

But did the priests and the aristocrats really believe sincerely in these institutions, which they sustained with all strength in their own particular interest? Were they not merely liars and deceivers? No, I believe that they were at the same time both believers and imposters.

They believed too, because they took a natural and inevitable part in the aberrations of the mass, and only later, in the age of the decadence of the ancient world, did they become sceptics and shameless deceivers. Another reason allows us to consider the founders of States as sincere people. Man always believes easily in whatever he desires, and in what does not contradict his interests. Even if he is intelligent and informed, the same thing happens: through self-love and his desire to live with his neighbours and profit by their respect, he will always believe in whatever is pleasant and useful. I am convinced that, for example, Thiers and the Versailles government were forced at great cost to convince themselves that, in killing several thousand men, women, and children in Paris, they were saving France.

But if the priests, augurers, aristocrats and middle-class citizens, of ancient and modern times, were able sincerely to believe, they nevertheless remained imposters. One cannot in fact admit that they believed in every absurdity that constituted faith and politics. I am not even speaking of the age when, according to the words of Cicero, "two augurers could not look each other in the eye without laughing". Afterwards, even in the time of general ignorance and superstition, it is difficult to suppose that the inventors of daily miracles were convinced of the reality of these miracles. One can say the same thing of politics, which may be summed up in the following rule: "It is necessary to subjugate and exploit the people in such a way that they will not complain too greatly of their fate, nor forget to submit, nor have time to think of resistance and rebellion."

How then, after this, can we imagine that people who turned politics into a profession and knew its aim—that is to say injustice, violence, lies, and murder, in the mass or in isolation—might believe sincerely in the political art and the wisdom of the State as the

creator of social contentment? They cannot have arrived at such a degree of stupidity despite all their cruelty. Church and State have been the great schools of vice in every age. History bears witness to their crimes; at all places and at all times the priest and the statesman have been the conscious, systematic, implacable and bloody executioners of the people.

But how, all the same, can we reconcile two things which are apparently so incompatible: deceivers and deceived, liars and believers? Logically, this seems difficult; however, in fact—that is to say in practical life—these qualities occur together very often.

In the great majority of cases people live in contradiction with themselves, and under perpetual misapprehensions; they generally do not notice it, that is until some extraordinary event brings them back from their habitual sleep and compels them to take a look at themselves and around themselves.

In politics as in religion, men are only machines in the hands of the exploiters. But robbers and robbed, oppressors and oppressed, all live one alongside the other, governed by a handful of individuals whom it is convenient to consider as the true exploiters. These are the same people, free of all prejudices, political and religious, who consciously maltreat and oppress. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until the explosion of the Great Revolution, as in our own day, they ruled in Europe and did pretty well as they pleased. We must believe that their domination will not prolong itself much further.

While the principal leaders deceive and lead the

people astray quite consciously, their servants, or the minions of the Church and State, apply themselves with zeal to uphold the sanctity and integrity of these odious institutions. If the Church, according to the pronouncements of the priests and of the majority of statesmen, is necessary for the salvation of the soul, the State in its turn is also necessary for the conservation of peace, of order, and of justice, and the dogmatists of all the schools must shout: "Without Church and Government there will be neither civilisation nor progress."

We need not discuss the problem of eternal salvation because we do not believe in the immortality of the soul. We are convinced that the most harmful of things for humanity, for truth and progress, is the Church. And how could it be otherwise? It is not to the Church that the care of perverting the younger generations, above all the women, falls? Is it not the Church which through its dogmas and lies, its stupidity and shame, tends to destroy logical reasoning and science? Does the Church not attack the dignity of man, in perverting in him the notion of rights and justice? Does it not give back as a corpse that which is living, does it not lose freedom, is it not the Church which preaches slavery of the masses in perpetuity for the benefit of tyrants and exploiters? Is it not the Church, this implacable Church, which tends to perpetuate the reign of darkness, ignorance, poverty and crime?

And if the progress of our century is not a deceptive dream, it must get rid of the Church.

A biographical and bibliographical note

THE best-known single writing on the Paris Commune is of course *The Civil War in France*, the address which Karl Marx wrote for the General Council of the International Working Men's Association during April and May 1871 (while the Commune was still in existence), and which was approved by the General Council on May 30 (two days after the Commune was destroyed) and first published as a pamphlet in June 1871—since when it has appeared in innumerable editions.¹ Bakunin's essay on the Paris Commune, which was written during June 1871, is much less well known and has been used by very few writers on either Bakunin or the Commune.²

Bakunin's essay is inevitably compared with Marx's address, though they are very different kinds of work, just as Bakunin and Marx were very different kinds of person. The difference between the attitudes and activities of the two great rivals in the First International during the crisis of 1870-1871 is indeed both interesting and revealing. Whereas Marx both publicly and privately opposed any socialist rising first against the Second Empire of Napoleon III and then against the Third Republic which replaced it after the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War in September

1870—going so far as to describe any such rising as "desperate folly", to call on the French workers to "do their duty as citizens", and to reject the current ideas about setting up a Commune as "stupidities"³—Bakunin strongly favoured a socialist rising against either the Empire or the Republic, based on the proclamation of independent communes, the raising of a militia to fight a guerrilla war against both the Prussian army and the French state, and the establishment of the direct rule of the mass of the people.

It is of course true that Marx rallied to the Paris Commune after it rose, and wrote his brave and brilliant defence of it after it fell; but it is also true that this admirable stand represented a considerable shift in his position and indeed led to a substantial change in the theory of revolution which he and Engels had been developing for twenty-five years, ever since the *Communist Manifesto*—a change which they themselves recognised when they brought out a new edition of the *Manifesto* the following year,⁴ and which Bakunin pointed out at the same time.⁵

By contrast, Bakunin's support of the Paris Commune grew naturally out of his attitude throughout the crisis, and indeed during the whole

of his career over the same period of twenty-five years. Jean Maitron, the historian of the French anarchist movement, has summed up the difference between these two attitudes by saying that Bakunin "judged with his heart, Marx with his head".⁶ But the truth is surely the exact opposite of this. Arthur Lehning, the editor of the Bakunin Archives, speaking recently at a Colloquium on "The Paris Commune and Its Place in Social Thought", argued that Bakunin's view of the Commune was part of the line he was advocating consistently throughout 1870-1871, and that this line was in fact intellectually and emotionally correct—whereas it was Marx, hostile to the Commune until it actually appeared, who was convinced by his heart and then used his head to justify his change of feeling.⁷

Bakunin indeed did more than merely advocate a rising in France—he took part in one. In 1870 he was living at Locarno in Italian Switzerland, but he was in close touch with his friends in France, especially in the south, and when the Empire fell at the beginning of September he quickly moved there. He left Locarno on September 9 and arrived in Lyon on September 15, playing a leading part in the socialist attempt to over-

throw the bourgeois regime which had been set up there on September 4. The socialists formed a Committee for the Safety of France, which drew up a proclamation abolishing the state on September 24, issued it on September 25, and actually managed to seize power for a day on September 28; but the governmental forces quickly drove them out and restored "order" before they could set up a revolutionary commune. Bakunin was arrested but soon released, and managed to escape to Marseille and then a month later to Genoa and so back to Locarno.⁸ (A week after he left Marseille, the rising of October 31 established a revolutionary commune there for a few days; it is important to realise that the Paris Commune of March-May 1871 was the culmination of a movement lasting for a long time and spreading over a wide area—and after the establishment of the Paris Commune there were further risings in many places in France, including both Lyon and Marseille.)

This tragi-comic experience dashed Bakunin's hopes about the revolutionary prospects in France, and he lost the optimism expressed in his *Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis*, written during August and September 1870 and published in September 1870.⁹ But his enthusiasm naturally returned with the appearance of the Paris Commune in March 1871. The Jura Federation of the International, which included his closest political allies, sent a messenger to Paris at the beginning of the rising, but they—like everyone else outside the besieged city—were only able to watch events from outside. Bakunin—like Marx—quickly realised the significance of what was happening there, and—like Marx again—he had some associates among the leaders of the Commune: Varlin, Malon, the Reclus brothers, and so on. In April he moved to Sonvilier in the Jura to be closer to France and among his friends. During the first half of May, while the Commune still survived, he delivered three speeches to the St. Imier workers who belonged to the central section of the Courtelary district of the Jura Federation, in which he first made public his general deductions from the Paris Commune.¹⁰

After the fall of the Commune he returned to Locarno, and there, from June 5 to June 23, he wrote the unfinished essay which is known as "The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State", and which is his main statement about the implications of the Commune. In July and August, after Mazzini's violent attacks on the Commune and the International in Italy, Bakunin wrote vigorous replies which had a remarkable effect, beginning the destruction of Mazzini's long-standing

influence in the Italian revolutionary movement and the establishment of Bakunin's influence in its place.¹¹

Bakunin's essay on the Commune, which was found among his papers after his death, was called by him "Préambule pour la seconde livraison de *L'Empire Knouto-Germanique*"; thus it was designed to open the second part of his great attack on the Russian and German regimes, the first part of which was written at the end of 1870 and published in May 1871.¹² But the second part of the book, like most of his works, survived only in fragmentary form; another section of it which has frequently appeared separately is the unfinished essay well known as "God and the State", which was written at the beginning of 1871 and first published in 1882.¹³

The first part of the Commune essay was first published (in the original French) by Elisée Reclus in the last issue of *Le Travailleur* (Vol. 2, No. 4, April/May 1878), the "revolutionary socialist"—i.e. Bakunist—paper produced by French and

Russian exiles in Geneva from May 1877 to April 1878. Reclus gave it the title "La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état", which it has retained ever since. The whole essay was first published by Bernard Lazare in *Entretiens politiques et littéraires* (Vol. 5, No. 29, 1892), and it appeared as a separate pamphlet with a preface by Peter Kropotkin in 1899.¹⁴ It was included in the collection of Bakunin's works published in France,¹⁵ and also in those later published in Russia, Germany, and Argentina. It has recently been reprinted in Daniel Guérin's anarchist anthology, *Ni dieu ni maître* (1965; 1969; paperback edition 1970).

The essay has never been published in a full English translation until the present edition, which is part of a project organised by the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme, involving a new edition of the essay published simultaneously in Switzerland, Belgium, and France.¹⁶ The essay has been translated by Geoff Charlton, and edited by Nicolas Walter.

¹The *Civil War in France* is included in all collections and (at least in part) in most selections of Marx's works. It is also available separately, the most useful English-language editions being those which include the two previous addresses on the Franco-Prussian War and the two drafts of the final address—*The Civil War in France* (Peking, 1966); *On the Paris Commune* (Moscow, 1971).

²Bakunin's essay plays no part in either of the two standard English-language studies of Bakunin—E. H. Carr: *Michael Bakunin* (1937) and Eugene Pyziur: *The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael A. Bakunin* (1955)—or in either of the two standard English-language studies of anarchism in general—George Woodcock: *Anarchism* (1962) and James Joll: *The Anarchists* (1964)—though it is taken into account in Daniel Guérin: *Anarchism* (English translation, 1970) and George Lichtheim: *A Short History of Socialism* (1970); the only English-language book on the Paris Commune which takes it at all seriously is E. S. Mason: *The Paris Commune* (1930).

³*Second Address . . . on the Franco-Prussian War*, dated September 9, 1870; and letter to Engels, dated September 6, 1870.

⁴Preface, dated June 24, 1872, for the Leipzig edition of 1872: "In view of the practical experience gained . . . in the Paris Commune . . . this programme has in some details become antiquated . . . etc."

⁵Letter, dated October 5, 1872 (first published by Max Nettlau in *La Société Nouvelle* in July/August 1894): "Even the Marxians, all of whose ideas were contradicted by this revolution, were obliged to take off their hats to it. They went further: in opposition to their own real feelings, they proclaimed that its programme and its aims were

their own. This was a truly clownish travesty . . . etc."

⁶Jean Maitron: *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France, 1880-1914* (1951; 1955).

⁷The Colloquium was held at the University of Sussex on March 26-28, 1971, and the proceedings are to be published in book form later this year.

⁸Bakunin's activity in Lyon and Marseille is described in Max Nettlau: *Michael Bakunin* Vol. 3, Part 1 (1899) and James Guillaume: *L'Internationale* Vol. 2 (1907); the version given by E. H. Carr is a caricature.

⁹*Lettre à un Français sur la crise actuelle* (Geneva, 1871).

¹⁰"Trois conférences aux ouvriers du Val de Saint-Imier", first published by Max Nettlau in *La Société Nouvelle* in March and April 1895, and included in *Oeuvres* Vol. 3 (1908); relevant extracts appear in the new CIRA edition of *La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état*.

¹¹Bakunin's writings against Mazzini are included in *Oeuvres* Vol. 6 (1913), and have recently been collected by Arthur Lehning in *Archives Bakounine* Vol. 1, Parts 1 and 2, "Michel Bakounine et l'Italie" (1961-1963).

¹²*L'Empire Knouto-Germanique et la révolution sociale* Première Livraison (Geneva, 1871).

¹³*Dieu et l'état* (Geneva, 1882); the most useful English-language edition is that published by Dover Publications with an introduction by Paul Avrich—*God and the State* (New York, 1970).

¹⁴*La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état* (Paris, 1899).

¹⁵*Oeuvres* Vol. 4, pp. 245-275 (Paris, 1910).

¹⁶*La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état, suivi de Trois conférences aux ouvriers du Val de Saint-Imier* (Lausanne, Paris and Brussels, 1971).

REVIEW

The Withered Flowers of May

TOWARDS A HISTORY AND CRITIQUE OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN RECENT TIMES, by Colin Williams, R. Atkins and Keith Nathan (Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists pamphlet No. 1, York 1970. 5p + 2p postage).

ONE THING THAT HAS BEEN LACKING in the British anarchist movement in the last few years is a basic history, critique and analysis; not, I would hasten to say, a history of the movement from its formation, but a history of the movement as we know it today. This is what the above writers have set themselves out to do. It is on whether they have achieved this, or not, that we must set our criticism.

I must admit that on first and second reading I did not like this pamphlet. It is dogmatic, dictatorial and verbose. Jargon abounds and their conclusions do not follow from their evidence. To put it bluntly their evidence seems to follow more from hearsay, often from parallel movements, or from published material rather than from the facts as I knew them. In fact they appear to have been very selective in their facts, as though it were more important to prove a case, than be historically accurate.

Therefore, in judging this pamphlet, we must pause for a moment and wonder whether the title is meaningful. Titles, I know, often have very little to do with what follows them. A title is designed to catch the eye and inform. It is also designed to sell a work, though one must not suggest that the authors are trying to make a profit. A title also might be part of that sage educationalist's advice to new teachers: "Tell 'em what you are going to tell 'em, tell 'em, and tell 'em what you told them." I do not know whether any of the writers are going to be teachers but if they are I suggest that the beginning and end of this suggestion are not its only parts, merely the icing on the gingerbread. You have got to "tell 'em" too. And this is something which this pamphlet lamentably fails to do.

Therefore I tactfully suggest that, whilst this may be a critique of the anarchist movement, some of its history is a little too much like hearsay. Furthermore some of its suggestions for the future seem to be a little too much like Marxist-Leninism for my taste.

The pamphlet was I suppose written by students. To say this is not to denigrate students. Some of the most active anarchists have been, and no doubt are, students. But looking at it in retrospect I see a striking resemblance to publications like "ANARCHIST YOUTH", published in 1964 and their "federation" of which least said the better, except to wonder whether there is an ideal type of students' actions in regard to which all students approximate in an institutional way, because personalities and issues apart, the resemblance between ORA, the people involved and their manner, is strikingly similar to so many others. Perhaps if they had delved a little deeper into the last ten years of anarchism their conclusions would have been less dogmatic, and I personally think, less unreal.

I think, you know, all students suffer from the same fatality. They think that as the university is a seat of learning, somehow they are learned. Because their professors pontificate so can they. They also feel that if they, in their studies, are obliged to understand the scientific method then ipso facto, they are scientific in approach and value-free in their judgments and their apparent dogmatism is merely another's failure to correctly interpret the real truth.

This is rather a pity but it seems to be the result of too much theory and too little practical experience. Mere contact with the ivory tower does not lead to a scientific approach, least of all in politics. Scientific method implies the development of objectivity—being able to stand outside oneself and look at onself and one's actions, and the action of others; in effect, the phenomena under consideration; from a value-free perspective.

This pamphlet is not objective. It is not value-free. Furthermore the conclusions have little to do with what precedes them.

The writers claim that no serious work on anarchist theory has been published in recent times. They justify this by dismissing all the writing that appears as "spuriously advanced positions". They thereby imply that they can quite safely ignore anything that disagrees with their conclusions. This is an intellectually dishonest approach. It may be the practice in some Marxist tendencies but hardly what we expect from self-confessed anarchists.

Having, they claim, cleared the field, they then advance their own particular viewpoint and attempt to justify this as general anarchist theory. Marxist-Leninism is advanced, called anarchism, and we are given a long-winded account of dialectical materialism, historical necessity and other collectivist nonsense ending up with the minority syndicalist view that only through the efforts of the working class will an anarchist revolution, and we are led to suppose anarchist society, be achieved. Again, the icing on the cake, but no cake. No evidence is given as to how their conclusions were arrived at. All this is left to the reader's imagination, or knowledge of basic Marxism.

The writers go on, at great lengths, about Anarchist Group organisation—a worthwhile task which needs more study. However they look at groups from only one perspective—whether they are effective as industrial activists. This is a very naive approach and shows that they have had little contact with anarchist groups (outside Protest Politics) up and down the country, furthermore they have little knowledge of who, and why, people become anarchists. They also seem to have little knowledge of what makes the average industrial worker tick.

They soliloquise, at length, about the successes of Left Wing groups and wish the anarchist movement was as highly organised as International Socialism or the Socialist Labour League and claim that if anarchists adopted their methods, and apparent aims, the anarchist movement would be larger and more effective.

Too true, but would the movement's supporters be anarchists? In a sense this may not concern them—they might even say that this was irrelevant; quite, but are we talking about the anarchist movement as yet another Left popular front?

I feel that the writers of this pamphlet have been blinded by the delusion of numbers. They feel dismayed by the militancy of certain Left-Wing groups, at least in its verbal form. They are also surprised at the published sales figures of some Left papers, forgetting these were sent out on account. What anarchist has not occasionally bought a pint for the lonely working class girl sellers of "KEEP LEFT" who, desperately scared that they will be landed with copies to pay for out of pocket money they have not got, wander the late night pubs desperately trying to peddle their unwanted rubbish—is this the kind of movement anarchists want?

The facade of Left-Wing militancy has been accepted for real, as was intended, and in being blinded Messrs. Williams, Atkins and Nathan have insisted we follow the Left because it appears to be ritually effective. Really what has this got to do with anarchism? I would rather there were only ten anarchists in Britain who were anarchists, than ten million followers of red and black flags.

Anarchism is not merely a social, nor industrial, phenomena. Anarchism is an awareness of a psychological reality. One does not achieve an anarchist society by merely changing the power relationships, be they in the State, central or local, or the industrial bureaucracy, nation-wide or shop-floor.

One has only to come in contact with many so-called Spanish anarchists throughout Western Europe to realise that whatever industrial or political attitudes they may pay lip-service to, in their personal relationships, i.e. treatment of women; wives and daughters and general home-life, they might well be living in middle class Victorian England. Anarchism is their party-line and the syndicalist union their party. Anarchism has no psychological reality for them and furthermore it has little effect on their personal relationships.

There are large syndicalist unions in Argentina and Sweden but does this lead to anarchism as we know it? The evidence is that the individual is as rigid in his private views as any so-called bourgeois society—as rigid as many English industrial workers too.

How many industrial militants do you know? Do you know their wives and children? Have you ever met them? What do these do while their husband and father props up the bar? Have the wives been freed from the drudge of the kitchen sink, looking after children, cooking, doing the laundry, housework? Do my readers really think that a mere change in the relationship of the factory—workers' control and anarcho-syndicalism will bring about an anarchist society? One can criticise this pamphlet on many grounds though upon this point they seem to be with the Gods, but just because they realise that freeing the women is important this does not mean that altering the relations in the work place will alter that of the home. It is here that the lack of balance between evidence and conclusions become most apparent.

Why should anarchist revolutionaries and anarchist

groups only concentrate on the industrial worker merely because the Left does so? Why should they concentrate on the economic relationships of one person at all? Should they not be concentrating on the environment, on abolishing work, on re-introducing meaning into life? It is not for nothing that the greatest creation of industrialisation is the privatised worker, who seeks his life's meaning in pursuits outside work, in the home. Is not the industrial activist not also a privatised worker yet one who has failed to develop his individuality and see the expression of its meaning within the home and family?

Anarchism is a total philosophy. It is centred on the individual, not on the group. It is individual-based not collective-based. Anarchist relationships are formed between people to satisfy their individual needs. From relationships of self-freed individuals we develop social relationships that do not suffocate but are pleasing and honest. Collectivism follows from individual needs. The collective is not prior to the individual. Furthermore anarchism has nothing to do with wife-slave ownership.

Industrial processes change rapidly. We are now entering, perhaps have entered, a post-industrialised society. Though culture is affected by economic change it is more affected by belief systems. In order to achieve an anarchist society we must first achieve anarchists, who will then, themselves, change economic structures, as they need to. We cannot change the economic relationships first and hope that this will change people. This is a rock upon which many revolutionaries have foundered.

The pamphlet criticises the anarchist movement for failing to follow the Left up the blind alley of industrial action and suggests ways it could do so—even to broadening the scope of the AFB or in reality narrowing it to this approach, a curiously authoritarian viewpoint. In this, the authors show a complete lack of understanding of what anarchism and the anarchist movement is all about. They do indicate however a deep need for some organisational experience—perhaps a couple of years in the Socialist Labour League would be a good cure, though what they will probably do is end up in Solidarity, that wastepaper basket of undisciplined leftists who need an organisation but who are too undisciplined to accept its authority and rules.

This pamphlet does not live up to its title and is more than factional in approach. This is a pity because there is a lot of quite good stuff in it, if it had been spelled out at length and not used as Testament of Holy-Writ, might have been useful as a discussion paper, section by section, over a weekend. Factional viewpoints are sometimes useful in that they serve as a background for purposes of discussion, but when they are propounded as a general theory must be rejected as "spurious" and dishonest.

Meanwhile I would be interested in reading a pamphlet or book on a history and critique of the anarchist movement which was just that and not an attempt to plug a certain line, particularly a non-anarchist line. We have had the Black Flag's "Floodgates" and now ORA's, who's next for the chopping block? Unless somebody does a good job soon I shall have to do it myself.

PETER NEVILLE

REVIEW

Bound for the Bookshelves?

ANARCHISM, edited by Robert Hoffman (New York: Atherton Press, 1970).

"ANARCHISM" HAS BECOME A HOT WORD OF LATE and publishers are beginning to cash in. Due to a variety of reasons—student rebellion, radical life styles, bomb threats, simple nostalgia—terms like "anarchist", "anarchism" and "anarchy" have become part of the pop idiom. Not unlike women's liberation, the titles on "anarchism" are bound for the bookshelves.

This somewhat nasty preface serves to introduce a collection of anarchists, their friends and their enemies, recently issued in the Atherton "Controversy" series, a set of publications designed to present "conflicting views of key controversial subjects". Hoffman's volume, which includes snippets from such respectable and respected anarchist theoreticians as Proudhon, Tolstoy, Goldman and Berkman, virtually ignores all the controversy which forms so substantial a part of anarchist history. Proudhon, an obvious favourite of the editor, gets over twenty pages in this slim (159-page) book. But the meat of his often dynamic and turbulent career is ignored. There is nothing about the early attack on Proudhon by Marx, nor is there anything but a sketchy mention of the highlights of Proudhon's interesting life. Aside from reprinting Proudhon's now amusing calumny against the effects of government, there is little of substance. We can be charmed by hearing that

To be GOVERNED is to be . . . marked down, recorded, inventoried, priced, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, sanctioned, endorsed, reprimanded, obstructed, reformed, rebuked, chastized . . .

but anarchism, unlike publishing, is not a game.

As a matter of principle it is ill-advised for a critic

to carp about an editor's selections; these are rightly personal preferences. But a volume demands a thesis. Since we do not get the promised "controversy" we have to look for something else.

Three pages of Alexander Berkman stressing that anarchism is not bomb throwing, or robbery, or murder, is crude and misleading. Berkman, in the same work that Hoffman quotes, draws a poignant, precise and lively description of the anarchist programme; some of this ought to have been included. One cannot fault the inclusion of Emma Goldman's essay "Anarchism", but since her "Anarchism and Other Essays" has recently been reprinted one need not turn to Hoffman as a source.

Here and there are included some useful selections. David Thoreau Wieck's essay (from *Resistance*) is modern, clear, imaginative and generally unavailable. It deserves circulation. But a few graceful or even inspiring phrases cannot suffice for a serious anthology, nor can they compensate for what might be a devastatingly interesting book describing and reprinting the many disputes associated with the anarchist movement. I, for one, would delight in seeing the Marx/Bakunin struggle in print. Or the Johann Most/Benjamin Tucker debate. As much as we may abhor factionalism, struggle within and without is the stuff of anarchist history.

To end on a more positive note, Hoffman's introduction, while somewhat vague and ahistorical, is full of sympathy for the anarchist movement. He forcefully attacks the myth that anarchism is synonymous with terrorism and assassination. And he makes clear that the increase of liberty is a central anarchist aim. But his errors of omission and commission in this volume leave the reader disappointed and bewildered.

TERRY M. PERLIN.

LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS is a quarterly journal, 64 pages, printed format 8" x 5"

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The first issue, Winter 1970, carried the following articles: "On the New Class" by Paul Avrich, "Paths of Revolution" by M. Serguen, "Individualist Anarchism in the United States: The Origins" by Murray N. Rothbard, "Tasks for the New Left" by Noam Chomsky, "Courts Against the State" by Joseph R. Peden, "The Road to Freedom: Anarchism in the 1920s" by Buhle and "A Communication to Libertarians" by Karl Hess.

In a forthright editorial the journal outlines its aims, stating, in part:

All anarchists share the same underlying values and attitudes that makes them comrades in a common cause. . . . Individualistic values and communist aspirations are not necessarily contradictory forms of anarchism. . . . **LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS** hopes to explore the various approaches and strategies of anarchism—their differences, strength and similarities—and develop these forms in ways that are relevant to current struggle. . . . And we hope that readers will take part in these endeavors through the pages of **LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS** with suggestions, criticism, and articles.



Anarchism in Japan

Part II

POST-WAR MOVEMENT

Labour Movement

Right after the war, the US Occupation specifically encouraged unionism as a means of breaking up the power of the giant corporations. Within a year almost 4,000,000 workers had joined unions. But when the workers began to run wild and engage in such irresponsible activity as taking control of plants to increase production at a time when management wanted to hold it down to benefit from inflation, the Occupation began to turn against the unions.

Before the Cold War began, the Occupation looked on the Communists as allies and allowed them to gain a dominant position in the labour movement (the CP, on its part, considered the US military an "Army of Liberation"). It has been said that General MacArthur is the founder of the Japanese CP. The CP's labour federation, with 1,500,000 members or 25% of total union membership, reached its peak in 1947; after MacArthur banned a planned General Strike it fell rapidly to 400,000 by 1949 and was later ordered to dissolve. When the Cold War got going, the Occupation tried to import McCarthyism and 12,000 Communists lost their jobs.

To oppose CP influence in the labour movement, the Occupation organized anti-CP unions into Sohyo, with a total membership of 2,760,000. Unfortunately for the military, the Sohyo unions had no intention

of serving anybody's imperialism and quickly allied themselves with the Socialist Party; they jointly adopted the "Four Peace Principles", including absolute neutrality, no military bases in Japan, and no re-armament.

The CP had been doing fairly well as a defender of Democracy when it got the word in 1951 to re-enact the Chinese Revolution; the resulting farce would make a suitable plot for a Keystone Cops movie and virtually destroyed the CP. After about a year it gave up and as soon as it was safe (1955) announced that a Proletarian revolution was impossible until the Bourgeoisie went through the formality of overthrowing the Emperor. Since then the CP has been slowly regaining the ground it lost.

The only really notable post-war industrial dispute took place in 1960 at the Miike mines in Kyushu when the mine bosses announced that 6,000 men would have to "volunteer to retire". A series of strikes led to a lockout, which led to several large battles with company guards and aspiring strike-breakers. One man was killed and 1,750 injured during the lockout-strike, which lasted 282 days and ended in defeat.

In 1965 the SP and Sohyo organized Hansen Seinen-i (Anti-War Youth Committee). It quickly moved away from the SP and by 1967 was participating in demonstrations with the Anti-Communist Zengakuren. Nationally, it is controlled by the Zengakuren sects, but very many non-sect radicals and Anarchists are active in local branches. During the 1969 and 1970 anti-Treaty struggle it was very active; small groups

would barricade themselves in at strategic points in their plants and disrupt production. At its height it could draw about 13,000 workers to demonstrations, but, as a result of its preoccupation with political matters it became isolated from the ordinary workers and is now small and inactive.

Hourly wages rose from an average of US \$0.244 in 1955 to \$0.583 in 1966, which can be compared to

	US	UK	Italy
1955	\$1.86	men 4.74 Shillings	L185
		women 2.78 "	
1966	\$2.72	men 9.23 "	L401
		women 5.30 "	

When comparing these figures it should be borne in mind that Tokyo is rated the most expensive city in the world to live in. Unemployment usually runs at about 1%; in fact the workers in highest demand are recent Junior High School graduates, with seven jobs available for each graduate, for the simple reason that they are the lowest paid.

With the amazing increase in Japan's post-war GNP, the workers' Standard of Poverty has increased from the starvation level to near that of European workers. As long as the bosses can afford to pass out 5% and 10% annual wage increases and still, increase profits, the labour movement is going to be emasculated.

There are now 11,481,000 union members, 35% of the work force, organized in 60,754 unions. As the table shows, the vast majority of union members, even when government workers are not counted, are employed by large businesses, while the number employed by the smallest businesses has actually declined by about 190,000 since 1960. The working class is sharply split between the "regular employees" with their fabled job security and fringe benefits and those in small companies who lack even many basic legal rights.

Partly as a result of the spontaneous generation of the post-war unions, more than 95% are limited to one enterprise. With the system of lifetime employment, many workers are reluctant to use tactics or push for demands that could weaken their employer's economic position. While there are a few signs that this system may be weakening, there is nothing unusual about a large corporation limiting itself to hiring exclusively recent graduates. Sohyo has managed to reduce the problem slightly by co-ordinating the wage drives.

Japanese workers tend to have slightly more say in union affairs than those in the West. While policies and programmes originate at the top, the first drafts are sent down the hierarchy for criticism and may be modified somewhat before they become official.

Most union officials are on temporary leave from their companies and return to them after their term of office is up; professional union leaders are usually workers who lost their jobs for union activity. Unfortunately, there is a strong tendency to elect officers from among the "white-collar" workers, the lower levels of which are included in the union, but are on a career escalator that will carry them into management. The unions like the arrangement because they think it gives them friends inside the management, while the bosses, aside from the obvious reasons, like the experience it gives in administration. In the West this system would inevitably produce company unions, but Japanese union leaders (with the exception of those in Domei) tend to be fairly conscientious; Sohyo's leaders are often fairly radical, but are held back by the apathy of the membership.

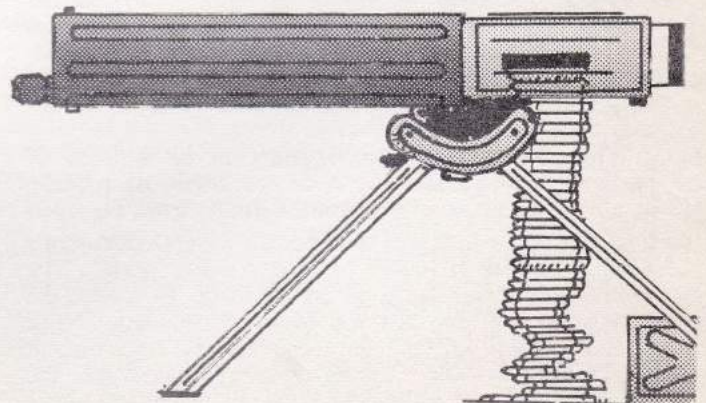
Strikes are used for harassment and to get publicity, not to seriously interfere with production. The most common form of job action is the "scheduled strike", announced at the beginning of negotiations. For example, a railroad union might schedule a three-hour strike to begin at 4 A.M., followed later by a Sunday strike, and then by one during a rush hour. In theory, it could build up to an unlimited strike, something which actually happens every five or ten years. The wage settlements are actually based on the recommendations of a government mediation board. In spite of this, the rate of "days lost" per 1,000 workers is not all that small compared to Western countries, because contracts are renewed annually and, except for Domei, are not usually signed until everybody has gone out on a ceremonial strike or two.

Almost half of Sohyo's 4,282,000 members, who make up 37% of organized labour, are government workers or workers in government-owned corporations without the right to strike. These workers manage to get around the law through slowdowns and reporting sick.

Sohyo leads the annual Spring Struggle, which a minor federation and a number of independent unions join in. By co-ordinating the wage drives, it partially reduces the enterprise unions timidity and fear of hurting their employers' ability to compete. Wage increases generally average out to 10% a year, a good part of which is lost to inflation.

Sohyo is closely allied to the SP and is virtually its only source of support. Sohyo's national leadership, which is the right wing of the unions, supports the left wing of the SP; the membership is basically apathetic. If the SP splits, Sohyo will probably split also, but it is impossible to tell which faction would be larger. The CP, which has no federation of its own, controls two of the larger Sohyo unions and has some influence in several others.

Domei, with 2,060,000 members or 17.7% of total union membership, is the second largest federation. It was formed in 1964 when the revival of the pre-war Sodomei joined with a group that split off from Sohyo. While Domei unions, like Sohyo, prepare an annual list of strike dates, they have the amazing ability to reach an agreement before the first date arrives. Domei is strongest in industries that are rapidly increasing productivity, where the bosses are willing to hand out 10% and 15% annual increases in a time of



EVERY LITTLE BIT HELPS.

prosperity to help undermine the labour movement. Domei bases its requests on "management's ability to pay", but should be credited with at least making its own investigations to determine this figure. Although Domei has taken some steps to keep out the most blatant company unions, it is still common for Domei organizers to show up when some kind of real struggle is taking place to denounce Sohyo and form a second union; the bosses respond with favouritism toward the members of the second union. Domei is closely tied to the Democratic Socialist Party.

Parliamentary Politics

The Liberal-Democrats (47% of the vote and 303 seats in the Diet in the last election) have an absolute stranglehold on the Diet. Controlled by big business, they draw most of their support from rural areas. The product of the union of two parties, they are extremely factionalized. By playing off the factions against each other, Sato was recently re-elected party President (and thus Prime Minister) despite the fact that almost 80% of the people wanted somebody new.

The Japan Socialist Party (21.5%, 91 seats) increased its vote at the rate of about 1% a year during the '50's and early '60's, but has now been losing strength for several years. Their greatest weakness is an inability to form strong local organizations, which forces them to rely on Sohyo to organize things for them. Although they stick to a traditional Marxist interpretation of politics, most of their support comes from "white-collar" workers. They are in the process of splitting between those who hold to an at least theoretical and rhetorical commitment to Marxism and revolution and the outright reformists—the reformists probably have a more practical position, considering the realities of their situation. The right wing, the smaller, will probably break away after the next election and form a new party with the Democratic-Socialists and possibly Komeito.

Komeito (Clean Government Party) (10.9%, 47 seats) is a front for the Sokka Gokkai Buddhist sect. It claims to be left wing but its policies are so vague that no one is really sure.

The Democratic-Socialists (7.7%, 32 seats) broke off from the SP several years ago and is now close to the Liberal-Democrats. It would be unable to survive without the support of Domei.

The Japan Communist Party (5.3%, 14 seats) has gradually increased its voting strength, mostly at the expense of the SP. While waiting for the Bourgeois Revolution, they have built a strong reformist organization; so strongly reformist, in fact, that would probably find it impossible to change their position, should they ever wish to.

While Japan has what appears to be a form of parliamentary democracy, it is not really democratic at all. By the use of massive donations from big business and occasional vote stealing, the Liberal-Democrats have remained in power for over twenty years. The right-wing Socialists hope to be able to unify the opposition, but are not too likely to succeed. None of the political parties seem to have a real commitment to Democracy—the Liberal-Democrats look on the opposition as a meddlesome nuisance, while the opposition complains about the "tyranny of the majority". Interestingly, the Socialists have occasionally started brawls on the floor of the Diet to prevent a vote from

being taken, which usually results in their being dragged out by the riot police.

In recent local elections the SP and CP have together won several fairly important positions by putting up joint candidates. In these elections the SP has provided the votes, while the CP has gotten them to the polls. There is now widespread speculation that the CP will become the major opposition party, but it's too early to distinguish a real trend.

Zengakuren

Zengakuren is basically divided into Minsei (CP controlled) and a large number of "Anti-Communist" or "New Left" sects of varying degrees of authoritarianism. The name is usually used in reference to the Anti-Communists.

Minsei has about 12,000 active members and is the strongest student political organization. Aside from being generally obnoxious, it is known to occasionally try to drive student strikers off campuses when the police have proved too lily-livered to do so.

Zengakuren began splitting about ten years ago. It is virtually impossible to keep track of the Anti-Communists' splits and temporary alliances (a chronological chart looks like a diagram of the insides of a radio), but their basic divisions are Trotskyist (about 8,000 activists), Maoists (1,000), Rosa Luxembourgests (1,500), and "Italian" reform Communists (3,000). Each sect has a non-student "Party" that it belongs to, but only about half of these parties really exist. Aside from the usual Bourgeois enemies, they particularly hate (1) Minsei and (2) each other; many groups attack each other on sight.¹⁰

The inter-sect hatred is quite understandable when one realizes that these groups are essentially Stalinists without a Stalin. Their political theories are very highly developed and leave little room for uncertainties; internal disputes are usually resolved by splitting.

While the sects generally agree on the need to join with the workers, their numbers seem to have a tendency to think of themselves as the main force of the revolution. This may be at least partly caused by the almost total indifference of most people toward leftist activity.¹¹

In October of 1967 most of the sects adopted what were basically Provo tactics of attacking the police and forcing the state to respond with outright repression.

Instead, the government reacted for the most part with extreme tolerance, putting the police in armour and usually limiting them to defensive action. The street-fighting campaign reached its peak in November of '69 and has since dropped off sharply. It appears that the sects have realized that throwing a Molotov cocktail at a cop doesn't convince anyone that he's a bastard and are now looking for new tactics.

On the whole the courts have been quite easy on student rioters. At a recent trial, two defendants who were unquestionably "guilty" of organizing a massive riot in which one person was killed were given 1 and 1½ years in jail, while the other 24 defendants got suspended sentences. As the level of violence increased, the government began moving toward a crackdown, but things quietened down before they reached that point.

The riot to prevent Sato's trip to Washington in November of '69 had about 20,000 participants, mobilized from all parts of Japan. The Tokyo demonstra-

tion of Anti-Communist sects and non-sect radicals against the extension of the Security Treaty with the US in June of '70, at which violence was only a formality (each group fought the police a few minutes and then sat back to watch the others) attracted about 150,000 people. These are the largest demonstrations of their kinds ever held by the sects.

Non-Sect Radicals

Until about 1967 non-sect radicals were few in number and little more than potential recruits for Zengakuren. The growth of student discontent led to struggles for university reform; as the sects, with their preoccupation with national and international politics, were unable to relate to these struggles, the non-sect radicals took the initiative. Non-sect radicals began to organize themselves under the name Zenkyoto (All Campus Joint Struggle Committees); previously lacking in any programmes for action, it looked like they might develop something with Zenkyoto, but the movement collapsed at the end of 1969, partly because lengthy strikes had done little to improve the university situation and partly because a new law gave the government more control over the universities. The situation had become confused in the summer of '69 when several of the sects, with their acute political vision, perceived that the masses wanted Zenkyoto and so joined together and declared themselves National Zenkyoto.

As non-sect radicals are, needless to say, a totally amorphous group, it is difficult to be very exact about them. Unlike radicals in a similar position in the US (and probably Britain), who are generally ignorant of social theories and think all revolutionaries are the same, Japanese non-sect radicals tend to be fairly knowledgeable about left-wing theories, but have a basic aversion to the dogmatism of most groups.

As their numbers fluctuate wildly depending on the issue at hand, it is impossible to estimate how many of them there are.

Beheiren

Beheiren (Citizens Alliance for "Peace in Vietnam") was formed in 1965 at a meeting called by a group of writers to protest the Vietnam war. While it has a National Chairman, there is no real structure; you become a member by declaring yourself one and branches are formed in the same way.

Unlike most organizations, Beheiren has become increasingly radical as it has grown. Although it lacks an official political theory, it has broadened its field of activity and become involved with the problems of Japan itself; it is probably the major non-parliamentary left-wing "citizens group". Makoto Oda, the Chairman, believes in a "whirlpool of humanity" theory; the whirlpool consists of radicals whose activity draws in the citizens surrounding them, eventually leading up to a general strike or similar mass action.

Beheiren has two tendencies: The major one, which is the real Beheiren, is quite libertarian. The second is made up of people from the CP and Zengakuren sects who have come in to capture the organization; they have found that aside from the Chairmanship, which is more or less Oda's personal property, there aren't any positions of power for them to capture. As the activists of the real Beheiren, unlike most non-sect radicals, have developed their own programmes, the

opportunists are isolated and end up as nothing more than their original groups using the name of Beheiren.

Beheiren can usually draw 2,000-5,000 people to a demonstration in Tokyo and occasionally as many as 10,000.

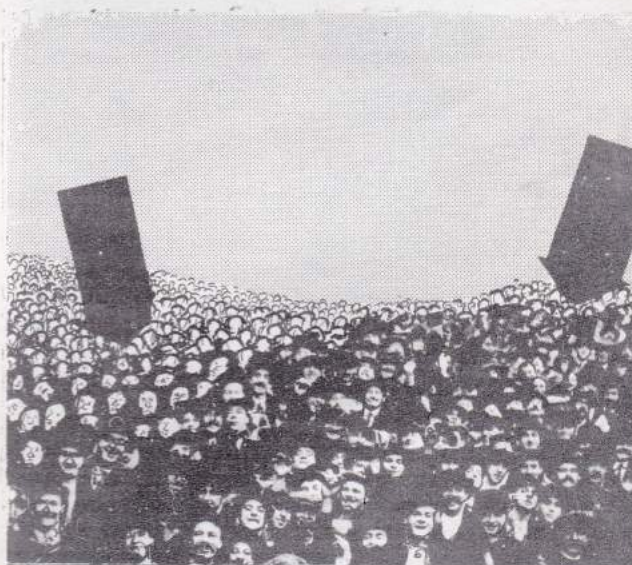
Post-War Anarchist Movement

On May 12, 1946, about 300 people met in Tokyo to form Nihon Anarkisuto Renmei (Japan Anarchist Federation), with Iwasa as Chairman and Kenji Kondo as Secretary. They began publishing "Heimin Shim-bun" weekly.

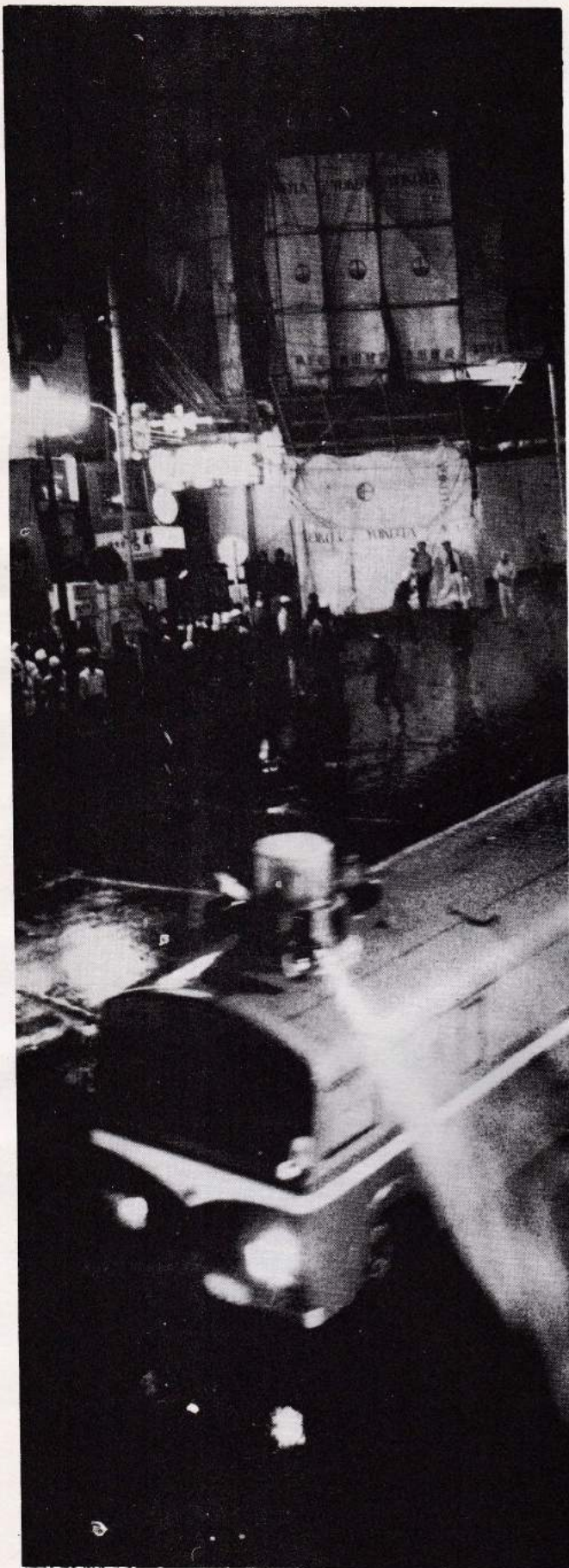
The federation was unable to attract more than 600 people. This can be attributed to two basic causes: (1) With the social and political environment totally changed overnight, the Anarchists, with the exception of a few attempts by Syndicalists to establish workers' control of production, were unable to come up with practical proposals for action. (2) When Japanese society was reconstructed, there was a place in the plan for Socialists and Communists, while the Anarchists, even if they had been willing to accept the US Army as a patron, were, of course, ignored as anachronistic lunatics.

A dispute among the Tokyo Anarchists, caused by the bad housing situation, led to a split in 1951. The smaller group, the so-called "pure Anarchists" formed the Japan Anarchist Club, led by Iwasa. The Anarchist Club was opposed to all unions; Iwasa looked on unions as bandit groups, only stealing money from the Capitalists—fair enough as far as they go, but not really revolutionary.

In 1956 "Heimin Shim-bun" changed its name to "Kuro Hata" and in 1962, now a monthly, to "Jiyu Rengo" ("Free Federation").



You are both charged with conspiring to cause explosions likely to endanger life or cause serious damage to property.



In 1966 Behan-i (Anti-Vietnam War Direct Action Committee), an Anarchist student group, raided a machine-gun factory, cutting off the power for a while, and later, another war factory in Nagoya. Behan-i fell apart soon afterwards and no similar actions have taken place since.

In January, 1969, the JAF carried out a "deployment in the face of the enemy"; in simple language, it dissolved. This was done on the grounds that the federation wasn't functioning, had developed sectarian tendencies, wasn't producing enough propaganda, and new methods had to be tried to reach non-sect radicals.

At present the number of Anarchist groups in Japan is completely unknown; only a very few groups would actually call themselves Anarchist. Sectarianism, while nothing compared to that of Zengakuren, is still quite bad, even in those groups that have strong theoretical opposition to it—many people are not on speaking terms with individuals of certain other groups. The following descriptions of six groups should give a fair picture of the various tendencies. The information on each group, with the exception of the Anarchist Club, is taken from either articles published by the group or conversations with its members. As the figures for membership and circulation of publications are those provided by the groups themselves, one should allow for ordinary exaggeration.

Jiyu Rengo Sha

Jiyu Rengo Sha (Association for Free Federation) was begun by Kou Mukai in early 1969. It does not consider itself an actual Anarchist organization but says its Anarchist tendency is a natural result of the needs of the present Japanese social situation for an unstructured anti-authoritarian radical movement.

Jiyu Rengo Sha believes that there is an urgent need for joint action by the Japanese left. By joint action they do not mean under centralised leadership of groups like the SP or CP, methods which have already been defeated, but instead through a union, or more accurately a federation, of independent groups that maintain their individual identity. Joint struggles are usually based on the lowest common denominator, both in goals and capabilities for action, of participating groups (such as massive peace parades); instead each individual and group must work in their own place, both socially and geographically, according to their abilities and the needs of their situation.

The Zengakuren sects do not understand what is meant by a union. Inter-sect rivalry is increasing and they are turning to gangster tactics in their disputes; the revolutionary movement is losing many people who have become allergic to the senseless violence of the sects. Each sect believes it alone is the vanguard and demands complete acceptance of all its ideas. Each has the illusion of unifying the left under its domination—they shout "union" but they mean "follow us". They are only able to make temporary allowances for opportunistic reasons.

The first step in building a free federation is to build a communications system among radical groups; Jiyu Rengo Sha's eight-page monthly newspaper has a circulation of 2,000. The newspaper contains very little abstract theory or analysis of great events, but instead specializes in "mini-communication"—information about the progress and difficulties of various small group activities that are ignored by the mass-communi-

cations network. Jiyu Rengo Sha, which looks on itself as an information centre, attempts to use the newspaper to promote mutual aid and to bring together individuals and groups working against the authoritarian movement. The newspaper has no particular staff and readers are expected to write articles; each issue brings in about 100 letters from readers.

The active members of Jiyu Rengo Sha do not usually work together as a group, which they feel would result in their becoming just another sect. Instead they "practice what they preach" and work as individuals or as action groups within their local situation; they are involved in more than 200 groups. About half of the activists are students and work at their universities with other non-sect radicals. The non-students are mainly active in Beheiren and various community groups; only a few are active in the labour movement.

CSL

Jiyu Shakaishugisha Hyogikai (Junbikai) (Council of Free Socialists) generally refers to itself as CSL, from the French translation of its name. It also sometimes goes by the name Jiyu Rengo Ha (Free Federation Faction).

During the Zenkyoto movement, a number of Anarchists at Waseda University were active in the Waseda Anti-War Federation. When the Anti-War Federation began to shrink with the collapse of Zenkyoto in late '69, the Anarchists met with Anarchist students at other Tokyo Universities and organized CSL.

CSL believes that Anarchism is required in the present situation, but not in its traditional form. Traditional Anarchism lacks a real theory of the process of revolution. What is needed are concrete proposals for establishing an effective, practical Anarchism, not just the ideals of freedom and justice. The new movement should work toward the creation of a communal society.

The revolution must be made through workers' and citizens' councils, similar to the French Action Committees, but the idea of a "party revolution" still dominates the Japanese left. CSL would like to operate in a manner similar to the Spanish FAI within an as yet non-existent mass movement similar to the CNT. Libertarians should fight against Stalinism physically and ideologically; they should fight together with the "New Left" but oppose it ideologically.

CSL is particularly interested in learning why former Anarchist movements were defeated and why Marxism became Stalinism. It has been criticized by other Anarchistic groups for Marxist tendencies; officially it is neither Anarchist nor anti-Marxist.

About three-quarters of CSL members are students. They usually work as individuals with non-sect radicals, but gather together at mass demonstrations; as many as 1,000 people have joined with CSL on such occasions.

CSL has published a few issues of "Eikyu Kakumei" ("Permanent Revolution"), which sells 3,500-4,000 copies. Articles generally consist of opinions and positions on various problems; criticism of other groups, particularly "New Left" and non-sect; reports on activities; and theory of revolution, organization, etc. It also publishes a monthly internal Bulletin and occasionally contributes to left-wing magazines.

Mugi Sha

Mugi Sha (Barley Association) derives its name in a

roundabout way from the name "Bakunin". After the JAF broke up, it was formed by some of the older Anarchists, who intended it to be something like a union. After a few months a group of students occupied the office and the original group left. It is fairly close to CSL and shares an office with it.

Mugi Sha, with only 15-20 activists, is trying to develop into something like Freedom Press. It has translated several pamphlets, but is hampered by extreme poverty. It also puts out "Mugi Sha Tsushin" ("News About Mugi Sha"), which contains articles on "politics, art, social problems, and any other problems concerning man".

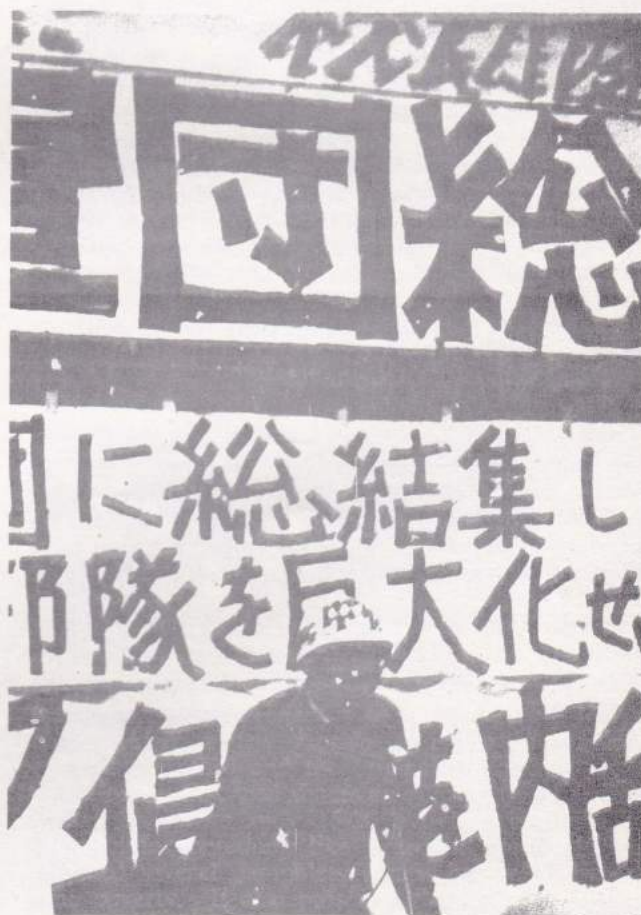
Mugi Sha also organizes study groups that, in addition to studying Anarchism, spend about one-third of their time on Marxism to be able to criticize its defects and to adapt its strong points for use in an Anarchist context.

Japan Anarchist Club

The Anarchist Club is now reduced to about a dozen members, all old, but it has close connections with some groups of young Anarchists. It irregularly publishes 400-500 copies of "Museifushugi Shimbun" ("Anarchist Newspaper").

Thanatos

Thanatos (Greek for "death"), Aka Ono No Kai (Hatchet Society) was founded in the autumn of 1969.



A Zen Gurken meeting.

Its 20-30 members are mostly from Hosei University in Tokyo.

Thanatos follows the economic theory of Kropotkin and otherwise prefers Malatesta, but puts more emphasis on the feeling of Anarchism than the theory.

Thanatos is close to the Anarchist Club, particularly in its rejection of Syndicalism—while Syndicalism is useful as a tactic, unionism alone is not enough. It sees the revolution as taking place through the occupation of factories, armed insurrection, and individual terrorism.

Thanatos is extremely critical of such groups as Jiyu Rengo Sha and CSL, which it thinks are not really Anarchist but only non-sect, for attempting to work with Marxists. Because of the long history of double-dealings and betrayals by Marxists, joint action can easily prove fatal. The Japanese radical Marxists claim to be anti-Stalinist, but in reality are Stalinist themselves.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to build a revolutionary workers movement at this time; the initiative is now with the students and, secondly, the lumpen-proletariat. Thus Thanatos is trying to organize vanguard groups on campuses, at first simply to spread Anarchist propaganda, but later to lead in such Propaganda of the Deed as fighting police and throwing Molotov cocktails, and eventually to form an Anarchist army for both underground and open insurrection.

Thanatos is often accused of being a terrorist organization, but actually, while approving of individual terrorism, it has no intention of starting an organized terrorist campaign. It feels that the internal outrage of individuals cannot and should not be restrained. Its reputation comes partly from the fact that several of its members were involved in the plot of the now defunct Haihan Sha (Rebellion League) to bomb war factories, the CP and Liberal-Democrat headquarters, and other institutions; while making the bombs, they set fire to the apartment, leading to their arrest—at their trial it was discovered that one of the defendants was a police agent; Shida and Haegawa both got two-and-a-half-year sentences and are now going to appeal.

In addition to a monthly internal bulletin, "Nek Dio Nek Majstro", a magazine called "Thanatos" is irregularly published.

Libertaire

An Anarchist Study Group was organized in 1963 to bring young people into the JAF. Finding it difficult to rent a room, it changed its name to Libertaire. After the JAF dissolved, Libertaire continued as an independent organization. Last December it began publishing a 12-page monthly magazine with the same name.

Libertaire has been referred to as "mild anarchist"; it promotes Anarchism through sociology and anthropology, both geographic and historical. Through the magazine they hope to spread Anarchist propaganda and to help form the nuclei of Anarchist groups in all corners of Japan, which would be the nucleus of a new Japanese society.

Libertaire has a strong Christian influence; the editor, Augustin Miura, is a follower of Ishikawa. Although most of Japanese Christianity now collaborates with authority and Capitalism, in the past, despite government persecution, it taught the Japanese to be without masters besides God. In Europe Christianity had been degraded



Police attempting to stop a demonstration entering the Ginza in 1969.

and compromised with authority, but its origin was anti-authoritarian. To be a Christian in Japan opened the way to Anarchism, because the moral of Christianity was the same as that of Anarchism; the worship of God and materialism is only a philosophical problem.

Libertaire is trying to reduce the gap between old and young Anarchists and feels that it is making some progress.

Libertaire has about 200 subscribers and sells another 400-500 copies of each issue. The contents generally consist of comments and analysis of various events and news (particularly foreign, due to Miura's contacts from when he was International Secretary of the JAF).

- 1 All names have been reversed to European style.
- 2 Katayama is the patron saint of Japanese Marxism, helped to form the CP, and is buried in Moscow.
- 3 Kotoku's name is actually pronounced "Kotok", but under the rules of Japanese grammar, that is impossible.
- 4 Kotoku himself was an atheist; his last work was "An Essay to Blot Out Christ".
- 5 American Federation of Labour.
- 6 In about 1930 he joined Rono, a group whose theories were similar to Trotsky's. The left wing of the post-war SP developed around the remains of Rono.
- 7 The Japanese version of his name.
- 8 Two, however, are still living.
- 9 The girl who stabbed him now happens to be a Socialist member of Parliament.
- 10 In August '70 a member of one group was kidnapped and tortured to death by a rival sect. It should be noted, however, that they apparently hadn't intended to kill him, but wanted to know his sect's plans. What is particularly ironic about it is that both sects are connected to the same party.
- 11 One non-political man told me that the riot police were just the strongest of a group of identical competing sects.

APPENDIX A
Union Membership and Labour Disputes in Japan
Before the End of WW2

Year	Unions Number	Members	Disputes Number	Participants	
1897			32	3,517	First unions
1898			43	6,293	
1899			15	4,284	
1900			11	2,316	Public Peace Police Act
1901			18	1,948	
1902			8	1,849	
1903			9	1,359	
1904			6	879	War with
1905			19	5,013	Russia
1906			13	2,037	
1907			57	9,855	
1908			13	822	
1909			11	310	
1910			10	2,937	
1911	32		22	2,100	
1912	37		49	5,736	Yuai Kai formed, repression cases
1913	43		47	5,242	
1914	49		50	6,904	
1915	53		64	7,852	
1916	66		108	8,418	
1917	80		389	57,309	
1918	91		417	66,457	
1919	162		497	335,225	
1920	273		282	127,491	Depression begins
1921	300	103,412	246	170,889	
1922	387	137,381	250	85,909	
1923	432	125,551	290	68,814	Great Earthquake Death of Osugi
1924	449	175,454	333	94,047	
1925	490	234,000	293	89,387	
1926	488	284,739	495	127,267	
1927	505	309,493	383	103,350	
1928	501	308,900	393	101,893	
1929	630	330,985	576	172,144	
1930	712	354,312	907	191,834	
1931	818	368,975	998	154,528	Manchurian War
1932	932	377,635	893	123,313	
1933	942	384,277	610	49,423	
1934	965	387,964	626	49,536	
1935	993	408,662	590	37,734	
1936	973	420,589	547	30,734	
1937	837	359,290	628	30,900	Chinese War
1938	731	375,191	262	123,730	
1939	517	365,804	258	18,341	
1940	49	9,455	226	72,835	
1941	11	895	158	32,160	Pacific War
1942	3	111	166	8,562	
1943	3	155	279	9,029	
1944	0	0	216	9,418	
1945	0	0	13	6,627	

Source: Izutaro Suchiro, "History of Japanese Trade Union Movement".

APPENDIX B
Rates of Organization According to the Size of Enterprises Including
Government Workers and Government Owned Corporations

Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	
5,000 +	5,267,000	45.4%	
1,000-4,999	2,733,700	23.6%	
500-999	954,900	8.2%	
100-499	1,885,600	16.2%	
30-99	647,500	5.6%	
29 or less	115,800	1.0%	
Private Industry Only			
Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	% of work-force employed (approx.)
1,000 +	4,793,400	58.4%	25%
500-999	742,900	9.1%	
100-499	1,439,200	17.6%	15%
30-99	411,200	5.0%	15%
29 or less	60,100	0.7%	45%

Source: Ministry of Labour, "Basic Enquiry of Trade Unions, 1971".

Eight comrades have been arrested in London and charged with conspiring to cause explosions 'likely to endanger life or cause serious damage to property'. They are all on remand in prison awaiting trial. The bombings they are accused of being involved in are those associated with the 'Angry Brigade'.

'Angry Brigade' covers two groups of people; those who have planned and carried out the explosions - who are a very small group of unknown people; and those who are angry - which includes most of us.

There has been much condemnation of the actions of the A. B. from the political left. This is typical. Who is fucking us over the most, the A. B. or the state? The A. B. has attacked and damaged a number of buildings this year. What has the state done since January?

Over 30 people have died in Ulster this month (August) and hundreds injured. (But you are out blaming the republicans for that.) They have increased unemployment, laid the ground-work for further repressive attacks with the Industrial Relations act, the Criminal Damages bill, and their latest Immigration bill. They have been systematically attacking selected sections of the community, and continually fucking us all up every day with their day and night interference into our lives.

But everyone is more concerned with dissecting the Angry Brigade and the Republicans. The state, along with its attacks on us, has been producing the propaganda to back it up. Both in Ulster and in England they are winning. When things are said often enough even our own comrades believe it, although they claim to be aware of 'media manipulation'.

In Ulster the media and the state have both repeated endlessly that it is just a religious confrontation, and that the troubles in Ulster have always been on a religious basis.

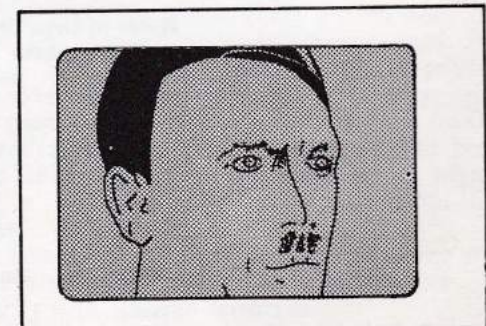
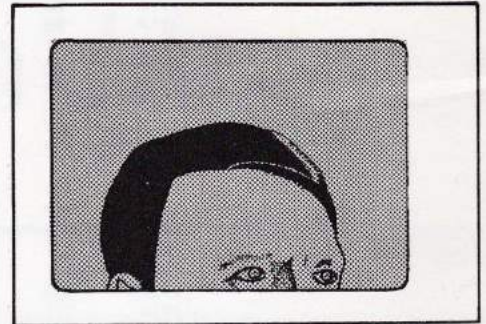
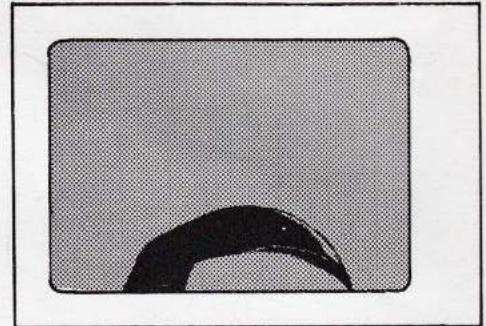
And we have begun to believe it. Hence the almost complete non-involvement of the left.

The result is that they have now got it back to the sectarian basis of Catholic against Protestant. And we helped them get it there, because we believed what they said, and even contributed with our own sectarian attitudes to the IRA and other groups.

Result - most of our comrades in that part of the country are either interned or are on the run.

So with the Angry Brigade. They have attacked the state in their own way. They have brought issues out into the open. If you refer back to the article on Marinus van der Lubbe you will see that he says he burnt the Reichstag because he could see no organised opposition to the state, and he felt that all that was left was what he could do himself. So he did what little he could, and propaganda took over from there.

Is the Angry Brigade's existence a sign that there seems to some that there is no effective opposition? In which case we should not be criticizing them but directing every energy to creating this opposition.



use all propaganda at your
disposal to stop the repression



anarchy



the reichstag fire